

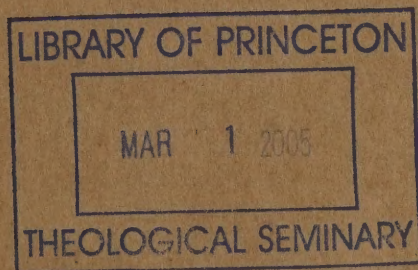
PAPERS
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PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY
AND ETHNOLOGY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
VOL. XLI—NO. 2

CHANGING NAVAHO RELIGIOUS VALUES

A STUDY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO THE
RIMROCK NAVAHO

BY
ROBERT N. RAPOPORT

REPORTS OF THE RIMROCK PROJECT
VALUES SERIES, NO. 2



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.
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CHANGING NAVAHO RELIGIOUS VALUES
A STUDY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO THE RIMROCK NAVAHOS

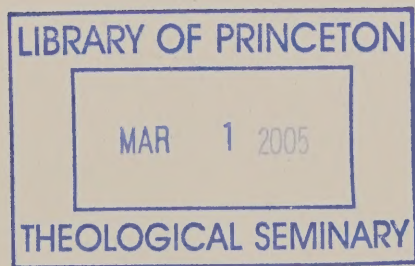
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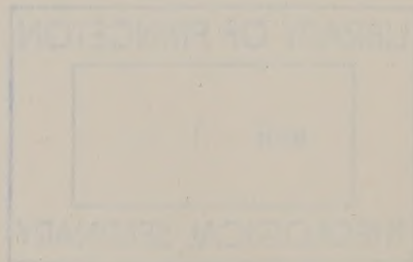
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PREFACE

THE acculturation processes resulting from the impingement of Euro-American culture upon the small non-Western cultures of the world are among the most challenging and complex areas of dynamic cultural phenomena studied by the anthropologist. When these small human dramas involve the conjunction of two or more diverse sets of religious values, the acculturation processes may be linked to many aspects of the cultural systems: the sacred logics, the norms of social relations, and the need-dispositions of the individual culture-carriers. Despite careful observation and study of many acculturation situations in scattered parts of the world, it is evident that anthropologists are far from being able to explain definitively why changes proceed at differential rates and why some segments of a population change their religious values and others do not.

In this second monograph in the Rimrock Values Series, Dr. Rapoport has moved into this complex theoretical and methodological territory with a set of concepts and methods drawn from new and current developments in anthropology, as well as in sociology and psychology. He has produced a report which is admirable for explicitness of research design, ap-

plication of sampling and statistical techniques, rounded theoretical approach, and ingenuity in devising and adapting test instruments to describe psychological need-dispositions in individual Navahos. The use of a carefully specified comparative research design (in this case the two missionary movements impinging upon the Rimrock Navaho) is relatively rare in acculturation studies; the application of sampling and statistical procedures is still in its infancy in anthropology. While much has been written about inter-disciplinary theoretical approaches in general books on the subject, there are few full-scale attempts to apply the conceptual schemes to bodies of complicated empirical data. In his skillful conceptual treatment of the descriptive data and his sophisticated analysis of the intricate cultural, social, and psychological factors which relate to changes in value systems in this Navaho case, Dr. Rapoport has made a significant contribution to our knowledge of the dynamics of acculturation and of the role of values in culture change.

EVON Z. VOGT

Cambridge, Massachusetts
August, 1953

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Memorandum: Some problems in value research.

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ROBERT N. RAPOPORT

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CHANGING NAVAHO RELIGIOUS VALUES

SECTION ONE

INTRODUCTION

THE occasion of this monograph is the attempt of two different groups of Christian missionaries to convert members of a local Navaho group to a new religion and way of life. I shall attempt to describe, in broad outline, the course of events associated with each of these missionary efforts. In doing so, I shall bring out the principal characteristics of each of these mission movements and the main patterns of Navaho response to missionary efforts. Later sections of this monograph comprise an effort to detect and test the presence of certain psychological dispositions crucial in selectively preparing some members of the Navaho population to be responsive to Christian teaching. In the final chapters, I describe the processes concerned in bringing about these pre-disposing psychological states in terms of the effects of social disorganization and cultural disintegration.

Missionaries, as *ex officio* agents of inter-cultural contact and change, have, like anthropologists, long been interested in peoples of alien culture. Some of the ethnographic works of missionaries in the nineteenth century period of expansion of western-European influence still stand as valuable documents of native life.¹ For the most part, however, nineteenth century Christian missionaries were

other-worldly, apocalyptic, and narrowly ethnocentric. Twentieth-century missionaries tended to change their attitudes to emphasize more positive aspects of inter-cultural understanding and more fluid changes through education.² Anthropological observers have also noted the disorganizing effects of the early missionary attitudes toward native cultures.³

Earlier anthropological studies associated with problems of missionary activities among alien non-literate peoples have been of several types: they have consisted of the works of the missionaries themselves, of attempts by ethnologists to isolate traits of a given culture that might be attributed to earlier missionary influence and thus rendered less useful for purposes of reconstructing aboriginal culture forms, and of the broad type of study termed acculturation studies.⁴

This too is an acculturation study in that I am interested in the processes of change following first-hand contact between persons of diverse cultural groups. It differs from some acculturation studies in its attempt to analyze changing cultural forms in terms of the processes of re-orienting individual need-dispositions as a consequence of the forces of social change and disorganization.

THE PROBLEM

Through the group of anthropological investigations known as acculturation studies, we have gained insight into some of the ways in which interacting peoples of different cultural

backgrounds choose from among their alternatives for action. Early studies, in simply comparing cultural patterns of the groups in contact, often gave insufficient attention to such

¹For an historical description of this period of missionary expansion *see*, for example, K. Latourette, 1943, vol. V, and G. Warneck, 1883. Examples of the excellence of some of the missionary ethnographic works of this period are H. Junod, 1912-13; Smith and Dale, 1920; Codrington, 1891; Wallaser, 1913.

²Changes in attitudes of missionaries from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries are traced by P. Ashby, 1950. The examination of the disruptive effects of their predecessors' policies by more recent missionaries can be illustrated by the works of Hume,

1905; Mathews, 1936; and Latourette, 1936. Alan Paton, 1948, describes some of the problems inherent in the missionaries' position in the matrix of a western-European colonial power-expansion in his powerful novel. The various works of Father Berard Haile represent an extreme point on the continuum along which modern missionaries are moving more or less in their departure from the narrower nineteenth century position.

³*See*, for example, Buck, 1939, and Rivers, 1922.

⁴Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, 1936.

contextual factors as the power relationships between the groups and to such personal factors as the roles played by different types of individuals in a society becoming more heterogeneous through social change and disorganization. More recently Barnett has observed that "the disgruntled, the maladjusted, the frustrated, and the incompetent are pre-eminently the accepters of cultural innovations . . ."⁵ Vogt⁶ has carefully delineated several patterns of intra-personal as well as inter- and intra-societal value change.

Within this larger context of studies in culture contact and change, one might note a sub-type that has to do with more programmatic attempts by members of one of the interacting cultural groups deliberately to change elements of the life-ways of the other group. Here, as in phenomena of programmatic social change *within* a society, individual innovators attempt to change group behavior patterns in the direction of a new ideal state of affairs.

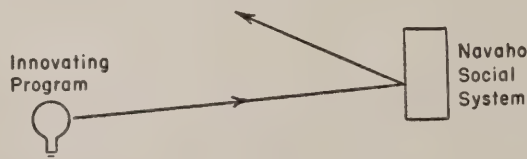
All of us, continually assailed by stimuli pressing for the adoption of various courses of action, develop devices for selecting courses that seem to be appropriate to the activities we happen to value. Our responses to the efforts of propagandists, politicians, labor-union organizers, and others bent upon influencing us is determined by an apparently enormous variety of intervening factors which affect our decision to ignore these efforts, to reject them, or to accept them and in some degree to integrate the changes into our lives.

The two innovating programs examined here are both Christian missionaries, each of them sponsored by a different church and each in competition with the other for the adherence of Navahos in the community of Rimrock, New Mexico. As the Mormon and Galilean missions established themselves at Rimrock, local Navahos responded in patterns of overt behavior that could be classified into types.⁷

Examining the course of events chronologically, I present descriptive materials that contain aspects of three conceptually different elements in the acculturation process: the characteristics of the innovating program, the characteristics of the local Navaho social system at the time of contact, and the response types of groups of Navahos within their social system. In the later chapters of the monograph, I abstract from each of these three elements their hypothetically important aspects in order to discover their inter-relations.

Analogies, besides being poor usage in contemporary scientific writing because they smack (particularly in their metaphoric form) of rhetoric, are generally so severely limited in their workable application beyond the aspect of resemblance being demonstrated that they are often more dangerous than useful. Despite this, I should like to present my general approach to this problem in the form of a graphic scheme that seems cogent for all its limitations.

An innovating program can be viewed as a beam of light having certain qualities and intensities, and the social system viewed as a crystalloid block having a certain structure. In pre-acculturation eras of Navaho life we would have had to picture this crystalloid block that represents a local Navaho social system as relatively opaque (inward facing and integrated), and thus the innovating stimulus would be largely reflected.



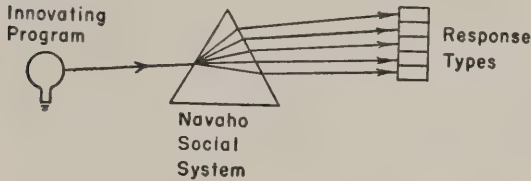
⁵ Barnett, 1941, p. 171.

⁶ Vogt, 1951.

⁷ These response types, to be described in greater detail later, are, in order of extensiveness of change from conventional Navaho value patterns: a) Staunch

Galilean (greatest change from traditional Navaho), b) Medium Galilean, c) Apostate Galilean, d) Mormon Navaho, e) Residual Navaho population, f) Singers-curers (least change from conventional Navaho values).

But as pressures on the crystalloid block brought about a rearrangement and dispersion of its facets, it could be thought of as a prism with the spectrum resulting from refraction of the light beam as behavioral response-types.



Similar analogies could be made using the conventions of other physical-science disciplines. Each would have its advantages and limitations for illustrating the processes involved in the research problem at hand. In the case of the optical metaphor presented, it will be noted that different qualities of light (innovating programs) at the same point in time would produce different spectra (response types), and that the same beam of light would produce different spectra at different periods of change in the prism (Navaho social system) or with other prisms.

My procedure, both in developing the course of field research and in presenting the data in the text of this monograph, was as follows:

- a) describe the qualities of the Navaho society (prism)
 - b) describe the qualities of the mission programs (light)
 - c) describe the overt qualities of the response types (spectrum)
 - d) postulate certain dynamics in terms of personal need-dispositions functioning in the context of the changing Navaho social system.
- My intent was to correlate the need-dispositions, described in (d) with the behavioral pat-

terns of (c). If the processes of social change are patterned (and not random as through divine, and therefore unpredictable, agency) one should be able to advance hypotheses which posit certain need-dispositions as *both* products of changing Navaho life *and* pre-disposers to favorable response to Christian missionary programs. The actual response types (c) are, by hypothesis, produced in persons who not only feel need-dispositions different from their conventionally oriented tribesmen less affected by changing Navaho life, but who also lack traditional social restraints or controls in their social matrices.⁸ Certain changing social forms serve to produce need-dispositions responsive to certain kinds of innovating programs. Later, the same social forms and others composing the social matrix of the individual serve to "screen" his behavior by restraining or supporting his responses to the new stimulus.⁹

Presumably, if the elements of the analysis are sound and if the techniques are effective for detecting and testing the processes of individual response activities considered as products of patterned need-dispositions operating within the pressures of the social matrix, one could fill in data about any one of the component elements if the others in the system were known. For example, with a good understanding of the general processes of inter-cultural contact and change, one could predict response types in a given situation, knowing the characteristics of the innovating program and the state of the social system. Likewise one might be able to discuss problems of composing an innovating program for a specific social system that would produce a desired set of response types. The current study is rudimentary and far from the realization of such objectives, but it was in this direction that my effort was expended.

⁸ Vogt, 1951, uses the terms "social orbit" and "cultural context" to analyze separately component elements of what is here called the social matrix.

⁹ I.e., even after an individual's personal need-dispositions were known to be of a particular type often disposing toward Christianity, one would not be able *ipso facto* to predict whether the individual

would be likely to react in a given way toward the mission. One would have to assess what alternatives were available to him for adequately expressing his needs through conventional channels and what controls were exercised by significant persons in his social environment.

THE SETTING

During the first three decades of the twentieth century the Navaho Indians of Rimrock,¹⁰ New Mexico, had made an adjustment, stable though smoldering and sporadically disrupted, to the Mormons who had moved into their valley, "where wild onions grow." After the release of the Navahos from Bosque Redondo in 1868, families of re-settlers had taken up their life in this area, rapidly increasing in numbers despite such hardships as the fact that they had been released "too late to plant," drouth, and hostile encounters with the neighboring tribes of Salcedanos and Apaches. When the Rimrockers came at first as missionaries, the leaders of the Rimrock Navahos greeted them in friendly fashion, and, after their custom of eclectic interest in other systems dealing with the supernatural, many leaders became nominal Mormon converts. But when certain reversals in the program of Mormon colonization in other areas brought large numbers of frontier Mormon settlers, land became precious for homesteads—especially in the fertile valley of Rimrock. During the years that followed, the local Navahos seemed gradually to become aware that unseen and unintelligible forces had crystallized legal arrangements of land occupance to their increased detriment. Although Indian Service and other aid effected some salvage, the pattern of enforced retreat by the Navahos to the surrounding "malpais"¹¹ continued semi-abated.

For these reasons—Navaho hostility resulting from the multiple frustrations of land competition only partly understood and Mormon de-emphasis of their proselytizing values due to the requirements of frontier survival—converts remained only nominal, and participation by Navahos in the Mormon church activities negligible. Rimrockers worked voluntarily as part time missionaries, but their competitive lay activities occupied more of their energies and served to belie their preachings.

The Rimrock Navahos are a group of approximately 615 individuals taking their name from a village located near the northwest tip

of their territory. The town of Rimrock is a Mormon village of about 300 people, and is located about 25 miles east of Salceda. The area in which almost all of the Rimrock Navahos live is roughly in the shape of a rectangle approximately 30 miles north and south and 18 miles east and west. Bordering on the rectangle area are a mountain range in the northeast, Rimrock village in the northwest, "Flat-Cone" Mountain in the southeast, and Spanish-American villages in the southwest and east. *Tejanos*, or landless Texans, who drifted in during the depression of the 1930's and took up farming homesteads, have settled on the southern and eastern margins of the Navaho group.

Although I have referred to this territory as the territory of the Rimrock Navahos, they actually own or hold on lease only about 230 of the 505 square miles in the rectangle described. The Navahos are dispersed through the area in a very irregular pattern, for the poverty of the soils is such that only in the choicest well-watered areas, can any concentration of the population be supported. These well-watered areas, which were formerly the usufruct property of the Navahos, are now almost exclusively in the hands of whites who came armed with legal papers to claim them.

In spite of virtual encirclement by many groups of alien culture, the Navahos of this area remain relatively un-aculturated, for theirs is a difficult country to traverse. In the northern part of the area there are many deep sandstone canyons, and the mountain range in the east rises to an elevation of about 9000 feet. The area is characterized by broad rolling valleys covered with sage or grass, with bordering ridges of colorfully eroded sandstone covered with pinyon and juniper trees. Much of the area, particularly in the central and southern parts, is covered with lava flow. The older lava beds are somewhat grown over with grass and are used for grazing. The more recent flows, however, present a sharply dissected surface of ugly black volcanic ash and play havoc with everything that passes over them

¹⁰ Most place names in the close environment of the locale for this study are fictitious. The name "Galilean Church," and the names of individuals in this account are also fictitious.

¹¹ "Malpais" or "malapais" is the local term, borrowed from the Spanish, to refer to the lands roughly dissected by lava flows.

from buckskin moccasins to thick-walled, six-ply automobile tires.¹²

The history of the Navahos in this area has been, in microcosm, that of the American Indian. The families were "persuaded" to give up their choicest areas to the Rimrock missionaries and settlers who arrived to build the town in the 1870's and '80's. Spanish-speaking settlers began to cross the mountains from their older settlements in the east. When the homesteaders from Texas and Oklahoma began to take up the fertile acres along the base of the mountain range and to the south, the encirclement was complete.

The Navahos find themselves settled, for the most part, on the least desirable lands in and around the lava beds. But even though everything is legal now, and the local Navahos have papers for their land, such as it is, much of the land is leased, and ownerships are still drifting into the hands of the whites, particularly the Rimrockers. The Navaho people still remember vividly the days when they had the run of the territory, and a great deal of animosity exists toward the Rimrockers who have taken most of their choicest lands and who now operate the major trading posts at Rimrock and La Peña.

The traders, being the Indians' only link with the "market," make profits on the Navaho produce as well as the goods coming in for retail sale. Although this two-way profit arrangement is common practice for traders in that part of the country and is perhaps partially justified by the risks assumed in carrying heavy loads of credit to tide the People through difficult seasons, the Indians resent it.

The seasonal pattern in the area is roughly characterized by severe winters with deep snows, dry springs, wet summers, and dry falls. The temperature variations go from an occasional -30 degrees F. during January, to 95 degrees F. in July, with averages for those two months of 25 and 66.2 degrees. Droughts have occurred in three years out of ten, and rainfall is sporadic and highly irregular, ranging from 6.7 to 23 inches *per annum* in a recent ten-year period. Because of this irregular climate in which there are also frequent killing frosts in late spring and early autumn, agriculture is an extremely hazardous business. Most of the

hundred elementary families scattered over the area subsist by combined sheep-husbandry and dry-farming of corn, squash and pinto beans. The emphasis is on sheep-husbandry in the wealthier families and on agriculture and wage work for local whites in the poorer. Per-capita cash income is still very low, and livestock remains the principal index of wealth. Rimrock sheep herds range in size from slightly over a dozen head to several thousand head. As elsewhere among the Navahos, wage work for outside whites on the railroads and sugar-beet farms has become increasingly important for young men in recent years. At Rimrock about twenty adult Navaho men are engaged in ceremonial practice as their principal occupation.

The scattered occupancy pattern is not without internal sub-groupings. The nuclear families are grouped into extended families occupying neighboring hogans—usually based on matrilineal residence with separate hogans required by the mother-in-law-avoidance pattern. These extended families are, in turn, grouped into larger units, called "outfits," for economic and ceremonial cooperation. The outfits usually are groups of relatives and often occupy territories extending for many miles. There are about a dozen outfits in the area, and four extended families which are not definitely a part of any outfit. Each outfit has an individual, usually an older man, who is recognized as its head.

A further sub-division which is not formally recognized but which is growing functionally in importance is that between the north and south segments of the population. This split is largely due to transportation difficulties, particularly in the winter months. Lack of contact gives rise to a lack of cooperation, split leadership, and other divisive tendencies.

Near the center of the rectangle but closer to and more easily accessible to Rimrock, is a cluster of buildings which serves as the focus for Navaho activities. The Rimrock Day School accommodates about 30 of the People's children who stay all week and return to their hogans on week ends. The school is a one-room structure and is taught by a white teacher in the Indian Service. The teacher is assisted by her husband and a Navaho couple

¹² Vestal, 1952.

who act as driver-handyman and cook. The Navaho cooperative store was set up with the assistance of a former Indian Service sub-agent. Its purpose was to provide an institution whereby native enterprise could begin to deal more directly with the larger white society. Around such a cooperative venture it was hoped that effective community action patterns could be built to deal with the economic market and other such problem areas by self-help.¹³

The Navaho chapter house is the locus for meetings of the Rimrock people. The political organization which functions for the group is one that was set up by the Indian Service. The officers, elected by the people, consist of a president, vice-president, secretary, policeman, judge, and delegate to the Tribal Council. The delegate was originally intended to be that individual who could deal with the outside world as representing the Rimrock community; the president was to be concerned primarily with internal community affairs. The delegate is called "headman," and largely because of the activities of a recent strong leader who occupied this position, the office has come to be the most important one. The complex problems of jurisdiction in this area have prevented the policeman and judge from

exercising their intended functions adequately.

In 1945 a missionary of the Galilean Church, a fundamentalist perfectionist sect,¹⁴ came to Rimrock to bring the gospel to the local Navahos. His story and the way of life he held forth found an unusually favorable response among the Navahos. As the Navahos, taken as a whole, had earned a reputation for supreme indifference to Christian attempts at enduring conversion,¹⁵ and many Navahos had shown fairly active resistance, the enthusiasm shown by a group of Navahos not outstandingly assimilated to white ways,¹⁶ seemed of compelling interest to the social scientist.

Moreover, the Mormons, spurred partly by the vitality of this new conflict group and partly by the general revitalization of Mormon missions throughout the Southwest, launched a new program in the Rimrock area to promote ideal Mormon values relative to the Indians. The presence of this set of sacred-value alternatives provided material for contrast and sharpened evaluation. The Galileans, offering a doctrine emphasizing apocalyptic notions and pursuing perfectionist aspirations through evangelical modes, offered the Indians quite a different setting for value change from the more permissive, optimistic, millennial Mormons.

HYPOTHESES

In order to understand the procedure followed in advancing and testing the hypotheses in this work, it is necessary to take into account the chronology of field-work events. My first trip to the area was primarily directed toward gathering descriptive data on the history of this particular set of innovating programs. My hypotheses for the first venture were only of the most general kind, e.g., that there were differences in experience, adjustment, and motivation between converts and non-converts. On the basis of the descriptive data set forth in the early chapters of this monograph, I made the hypotheses which

served as bases for the somewhat more rigorously controlled survey and evaluational techniques set forth in the later chapters.

Basically, I assume that each type of response indicates a value-orientation.¹⁷ I take it that individuals who can be reliably classed by various observers as exhibiting behavior characteristics of a given response type hold the value-orientations appropriate to that type. The value-orientations embodied in the behavioral response types here described did not exist locally in any strength prior to the advent of these particular missionary programs though many individuals in the community

¹³ The Navaho cooperative store failed early in 1951.

¹⁴ Clark, 1937, p. 27, characterizes such sects as follows: "These (perfectionist sects) seek holiness, personal perfection of life, or freedom from the temptations and 'desires of the flesh.' They are of the ex-

periential type, realizing their hopes through strong emotional reactions . . ."

¹⁵ Cf. Reichard, 1949.

¹⁶ Vogt, 1951.

¹⁷ Cf. Kluckhohn, 1951, pp. 409-12.

had been exposed to the ideas at mission schools and through earlier proselytizing. In addition, it is my impression that many Navaho communities have been as intensively exposed to proselytizing as the Rimrock community in recent years and have not demonstrated the favorable responses noted here.¹⁸ For these reasons I sought the antecedent determinants for the value changes not in the resemblances in belief and logic between the old Navaho value system and the innovating Christian one, but rather in the shifting need dispositions of individuals acting in changing social matrices.

On the basis of the qualitative descriptive data gathered first, I abstracted six behavioral response types. Each of these types of response to missionary activities was more or less explicitly recognized by the local Navahos themselves, and on the basis of their judgments and the judgments of other qualified observers, I classified each adult individual in the Navaho community into one or another of the six response categories. Ranking the response types in order of diminishing degree of value-change away from conventional Navaho religious values, they are:

- 1) Staunch Galilean converts—greatest sustained value changes
- 2) Medium Galilean converts
(including the sub-types of “conflictful” or backsliding converts and “syncretistic” or doubtful converts)
- 3) Apostate Galileans who had once displayed the degree of value-shift characteristic of types 1 and 2
- 4) Mormon-Navahos
- 5) Residual Navaho population
- 6) Singers-curers—representatives of the most conventional values most intensely held.

In selecting the personal need-dispositions to test as determinants of the value-shifts¹⁹ embodied in the observed responses, I chose six as hypothetically most intimately related *both* to the probable effects of recent Navaho social and cultural disorganization and to the personally rewarding aspects of institutions setting forth the Christian value-system.

For five of the six need-dispositions selected, I hypothesized greatest intensity of need as correlated with groups showing greatest degree of value-shift. These five, hypothetically experienced in greatest intensity by Staunch Galileans and in diminishing intensity by members of other response types in the order named above, were:

- 1) need for *affiliation*
- 2) need for *dependency* on stronger individuals
- 3) *identification with the dominant (white) group*, combined, in extreme cases, with hostility toward the native Navaho group (“self-hate”)
- 4) a *guilt-anxiety* complex
- 5) *need for recognition*

The sixth need-disposition, that of *leadership-dominance*, was hypothesized as presenting greatest intensity on both extremes of the response continuum and weaker for residuals on both the conservative side and the innovating side. Apostate Galileans and Mormon converts were thought to belong, more appropriately, with the leadership-strivers of both extremes rather than the residuals of both groups, because in many cases Apostate Galileans were individuals who sought and failed to exercise power through innovation, while Mormon converts were often those who sought and failed to exercise power in conventional life but whose conservative social matrices impelled them in the direction of the less intense value-shift of Mormon conversion rather than Galilean.

In examining the socio-cultural circumstances of each individual selected in a sample to represent the various response types, I constructed a “social matrix chart” (fig. 1). This chart, described more fully below, comprised a series of concentric circles around “ego,” the respondent to the test instrument used to detect need-dispositions. Variables were chosen as appropriate *both* from the point of view of indicating the patterned social forces likely to have been operative in the backgrounds of the selected need-dispositions and from the point of view of providing a “screen” for re-

quality of value changes in the course of an individual's experience.

¹⁸ Cf. Reichard, 1948.

¹⁹ The term “value-shift” is used by Dr. J. S. Tyhurst to give a sense of the inner-personal dynamic

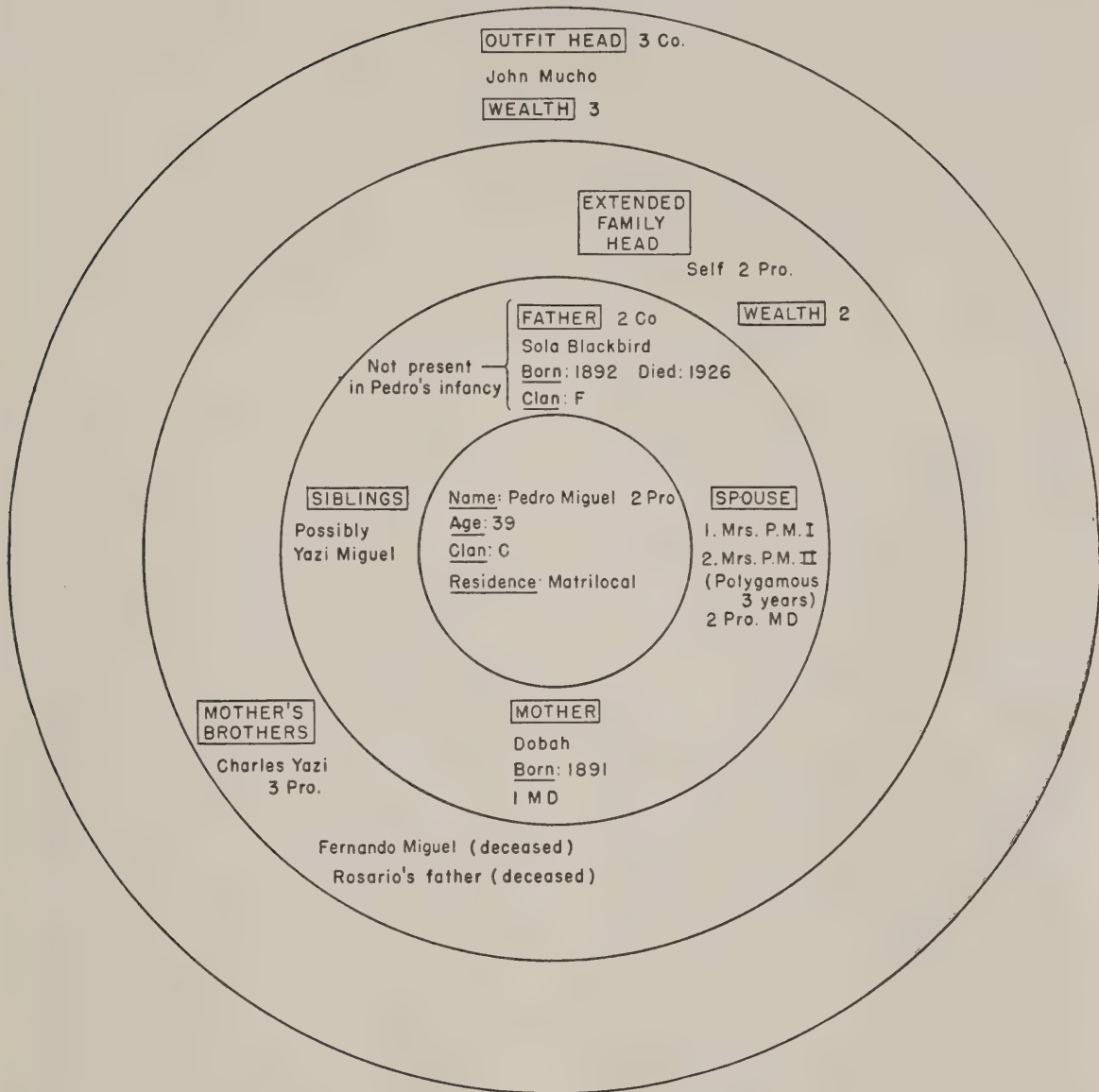
FIG. 1. Social Matrix of Pedro Miguel.¹

¹ Axis 1 and Axis 4 are shown directly on the Social Matrix chart. Axis 2 and Axis 3 cannot be shown conveniently in this form, so their ratings are listed underneath. All axes are conceived as having another, or time, dimension that would affect the type and quality of relationships shown through time.

Legend:

(Axis 1) <i>Wealth</i>	1— Poor
	2— Medium
	3— Rich
(Axis 2 and Axis 3) <i>Relationships</i>	A— Predominantly Negatively toned Relationships
	B— Mixed or Very Little relations (as with whites)
	C— Predominantly Positively toned (rewarding relationships)
(Axis 4) <i>Significant Persons</i>	1— Weak Character
	2— Medium
	3— Strong Character
	MD— Mental Disorder History
	Co— Conservative orientation toward traditional Navaho ways
	Pro— Progressive orientation; favors taking on items of white culture

FIG. 1. Social Matrix of Pedro Miguel.



EDUCATION SELF SIBLINGS
5 YEARS YAZI, 1 YEAR (?)

Axis 2: C (Relations with Navahos)

Axis 3: C (Relations with Whites)

sponse action—the screen offering channels of restraint or support.

Within the concentric circles of the social-matrix chart, I placed data that I considered pertinent to an analysis of key factors on this level of abstraction. Ratings were made for individuals and families with regard to four socio-cultural axes:

- 1) affluence-poverty
- 2) intra-group relationships (Navaho)
- 3) inter-group relationships with whites
- 4) personal sources of strength-weakness in traditionally-important family figures.

It was my guess initially that converts would tend to come from among the poorest members of the community, from among those who had suffered the most discordant personal rela-

tionships within their own group while enjoying rewarding relationships with whites, and from among those whose principal supports among conventional human figures were inadequate. From these situations on the socio-cultural level, I hypothesized the greatest chances of correlation with the kinds of need-dispositions posited as important in the background of conversion.

The account is set forth in the order of development of the working concepts, beginning with descriptions of the activities of Christian missionaries and the responses of Navahos to them, and followed by an analysis of the findings related to the specific hypotheses expounded here.

PROBLEMS OF FIELD METHOD

Problems of field method for this research were dealt with by techniques which, in many respects, were conventionally anthropological. Conventional techniques of depth interviews of the non-directive type, participant observation, choice of key informants were used. In other respects particular adaptations to the Navaho tribe and Rimrock area were appropriate, and in these I followed rather closely the examples of Kluckhohn and Vogt.

In still other respects, however, the nature of my problem demanded further modifications which require some fairly detailed description. For several reasons the role of the investigator in this particular problem was of considerable importance. The community was sharply split over the question of the missionary's activities. By the fourth phase of the operation of the Galilean church activities, attitudes of the Christian in-group had so crystallized that I experienced difficulty in engaging a Christian interpreter, because I myself was an "unbeliever"; working with me cast some doubt on the firmness of faith of the interpreter. I was classified by the strong Galileans in the out-group half of the human dichotomy between "believers" and "non-believers."

On the other hand, a too close association with strong followers of the missionary would diminish chances for satisfactory rapport with certain important leaders in the community

who would be valuable as informants and indispensable as respondents in the survey-sample. Diffuse social sanctions were being employed by many of the conservative members of the Navaho group toward those associated with the missionary.

Also the attitude of the missionaries themselves was of crucial importance. Rimrockers, for the most part, were cooperative and friendly, reacting to the field workers as individuals. Though there is a definite sub-stratum of covert hostility in the town of Rimrock because of the potentially disruptive influence of anthropologists on tightly controlled trader-Navaho relationships, Mormons are interested in the work of scientists—particularly archæologists, for in their attempt to link Book of Mormon themes with items of Indian life and lore, archæological findings provide substance for supportive interpretations.

The Galileans, on the other hand, present quite a different picture. I have already commented that this group is classed by Clark as a Perfectionist sect, but because of population growth in the church, duration of their activities, and other changing factors, the group is actually in transition to denominational characteristics. For this reason one finds in the literature of their church urgent appeals to the clergy to remember its evangelical nature and to keep up the emotional quality of its preaching. Some of its clergy are essentially of the

old evangelical type—closer to the nineteenth century pattern of apocalyptic Christian missionary—and some are closer to the modern liberal-denominational types. The first Galilean missionary to Rimrock was of the former type, the second more of the latter type.

Reverend Fry, the first Galilean missionary to Rimrock, came in 1945 and stayed through 1949. His attitude toward Indian traditional ways was clear-cut, and he regarded anthropologists in general as supporters of the "heathen," unhealthy superstitions of the natives. From Reverend Fry's point of view there were only two possible roads—that leading toward perfection and salvation and that leading toward eternal perdition. Anthropologists, because of their interest in native ceremonial practices, tended to be classed as an influence in the direction of the latter. Though this point of view was publicly held forth by the missionary, the field work of anthropologists in the area was little hampered because of the record of the group and the personal prestige of its leaders.

For an anthropologist to work directly in the area of acculturation and on a problem that involved the Christian church as an agency of acculturation, however, obviously entailed difficulties in relationships with the missionary. To overcome this initial possible disposition to oppose my work, I associated myself with a health clinic that was carrying on work in the area and commenced my study as a college student who was interested in how different kinds of Navahos perceived white conceptions of sanitation and health. During this period I actually worked with Navahos who were associated with the health clinic, and I learned something of the community and its people. As the people and the missionary came to know me as an individual, I began to shift my activities away from those of the health clinic (which left a few weeks after my arrival) and began my independent study as one who was interested in how Indians were learning white ways.

In the period of establishing a preliminary estimate of the situation relative to my particular problem area, I travelled widely in the area, attended as many public gatherings of all

kinds as was possible so that I could become acquainted with many Navahos, and began to make friends with many of the Navahos who were most particularly concerned with learning of the specific white values that the Christian church represented. The principal techniques for entering into good relationships with most Navahos were sharing of transportation, commensalism (rare for local whites), and learning something of the Navaho language. Charles Yazi, my language teacher, took a great interest in teaching me some of the rudiments of spoken Navaho, and in our discussions we entered upon comparisons of many concepts, clarifications of which were of concern to him as a staunch convert of the Galilean church. We became very close and sympathetic friends, and Charles always greeted me by a kinship term—usually *šitna'aš*, the term for cross-cousins.

The missionary, not perceiving me as antagonistically disposed, was rather friendly. I evinced a very real ignorance of the basic concepts of his religious group, and he always welcomed me on my visits to his church. I was seen by him in the company of so many different kinds of people—including Indian Service officials, a visiting European nobleman, medicine men of both cultures, and his staunchest supporters—that he was probably never quite able to classify me into any of the familiar categories.

The Navahos themselves were, for the most part, friendly after an initial period of wariness. I tried to remain neutrally sympathetic in interviewing individuals who were disposed both pro and con the missionary. This was often difficult, as in the case of Pedro Miguel;²⁰ he, like many other Doubtful Galileans, was intensely curious to gain bases from informed whites on which to make his judgments. In such cases I tried to plead ignorance or to suggest that merit could be seen in either point of view and that the choice would depend on how the individual concerned felt about it.

During the third month of my stay, the interpreter for the Galilean church quit his job and went to the nearest city where he obtained employment as an automobile me-

²⁰ Cf. below pp. 121–25.

chanic. After explaining the nature of our work, the aims of social science, etc., to him in some detail, I was able to persuade him to work systematically with me on tracing the history of the mission movement. He (Jim Edwards) was a man with an unusual memory—the kind one sometimes finds among non-literates who must keep massive quantities of detailed information in their minds since they are unable to record them in written documents. I checked incident after incident from his story by comparing them with independent accounts of others. His detailed accuracy was beyond cavil and almost beyond belief. His account was non-directively rendered for the most part and recorded verbatim on a typewriter. Jim Edwards worked with me for less money than he regularly made on his day-job as a mechanic, and he gave much of his free time to the task of recording his recollections. These remarkable reminiscences appear in greatly abridged form in Chapter VII.

Toward the end of my first field trip I was handicapped by the advent of pinyon-picking season. Informants were scattered far and wide picking the nuts, and interpreters could

make far more money through nut-picking than I was able to pay for their services. Thus my first field trip in 1948 was limited to collecting general descriptive material. This material was written up and studied back at the university. On my second field trip in 1950 I addressed myself to problems of more systematically checking particular hypothetical variables. I chose variables that seemed from my qualitative data to be satisfactory keys to discriminating among motives for the behavioral patterns observed.

I resumed my role as a college student interested in learning about Navahos taking on white-ways—and this time I made it explicit to many of my informants that I was particularly interested in Navahos taking up the new religion. The new missionary for the Galilean church was Reverend Claude Banks, a man who was clearly in the more liberal denominational tradition of modern missions. Reverend Banks even cited to me the works of Kluckhohn and Leighton; he said these authors deserved the deep gratitude of missionaries who had to understand Navahos in order to work with them.

QUALIFICATIONS

The selection of problem and area which was made in the initial conception and development of this research is based on several premises:

a) That important factors bearing on value change could profitably be approached in the examination of relatively simple situations such as that presented in Rimrock.

b) That while the situation should be simple enough to allow a grasp of the major variables affecting the activity, it should contain dynamic factors significant enough to produce marked changes whose relations to their stimuli would in some measure be easily determinable. Competing religious values offered an area of sufficiently intense and dynamic character to afford this advantage.

c) That the whole-culture approach, examining those who ignore and reject the stimulus as well as those who accept it, would be the most instructive in determining the factors that affect value change.

d) That the concept of value change would be a key focus for the analysis inasmuch as the

area of value change is one in which the abstractions of individual personality dispositions and cultural orientations come into the most meaningful interplay and that an understanding of the implications of value changes in either the personality or the socio-cultural system requires an understanding of the related dynamics of the other.

e) That one can analyze the factors influencing value changes in either level, the psychological or the socio-cultural, by discerning a relatively small number of key variables as anchors, or at least indicators, for larger patterns which, if one lacked organizing principles, might give the appearance of a much more complex profusion of relevant traits. I have used a very few variables on both levels and sought a key to the analysis in the historical and contemporaneous interplay between the levels as well as between different factors on the same level.

f) That if the individuals studied were classified according to types of response (ranging from strongly favorable through strongly an-

tagonistic) to the innovating stimuli, it might be observed that the distribution of the responses was affected both by the social and psychological characteristics peculiar to the given value innovations and by the structural circumstances (such as lines of influence) in which the respondents found themselves. While those who responded favorably to the particular stimulus would include many who were maladjusted in their conventional statuses, probably not *all* such maladjusted individuals would respond favorably and probably some of the favorable respondents would be from outside the ranks of the maladjusted. Given the resources at hand, the technique of survey-sampling was taken to be valuable in aiding to assess these factors.

There is no attempt to explore systematically the implications of my findings for larger generalizations. Indeed I was able to gather only a small fraction of the personality data that would be necessary for careful comparisons of dynamic factors in the life stories of different types of respondents, even within this single community. A few representative case descriptions are set forth in Chapter VIII, but the necessity for rapid assessment of key variables through sampling techniques did not allow for the systematic determination of such qualitatively important data as the nature of variation in motivation *within* groups of respondents. This kind of information would be extremely valuable in assessing some qualities of differences between groups of respondents and the dynamic stability of different types of individuals beneath their overt responses.²¹

The question of personal bias on the part of the investigator is one that deserves some mention. I must admit having certain pre-dispositions, which, in many cases, developed in the process of my field research, into convictions, with reference to the church movements. I will state the principal ones known to me:

a) I was not, and still am not, inclined to believe or to be responsive to the fundamentalist belief system preached by the Galilean

church. I do not, furthermore, believe the tenets of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Nor do I believe that Changing Woman and the others of the principal Navaho Supernaturals were responsible for the present state of the universe.

b) I was, and still am, interested in the problem of how the Christian apocalyptic message, so lacking in effective stimulation for me, could arouse such emotions in other persons and effect such widespread changes in their life-ways. Often, I thought, these changes were "therapeutic," and, as I possess personal values favoring mental health, I considered these results in some sense good.

c) I also sympathized with conventional-minded Navahos who felt, in many cases, resentment and suspicion of white-ways and a positive reverence for the ways of their forefathers. The effects, I knew, of missionary efforts included intra-community factionalism which crippled efforts for cooperative community self-help.

My sympathies were, then, for individuals of both sides: Charles Yazi, perhaps my closest Navaho friend, was a pillar of the church; and my home during my second field trip was with the Mario family, members of the strongly conservative "outfit" of Mr. Moustache.²² How my attitudes towards the Christian values and Navaho community needs have affected my research and reporting, I cannot say. I have striven to present events at Rimrock in as detached a way as possible, even when they had positive or negative aspects relative to my personal values.

Perhaps the best check against personal distortions will lie in the fact that this is part of a larger team venture, in which the work of many investigators, from various disciplines and of various personal proclivities, will find expression. Some of their criticism has been incorporated into the present volume; more will appear indirectly through their treatment of over-lapping interest areas in the succeeding works about the people of Rimrock.

²¹ Cf. the distinction made by geneticists in their observations of the differences between "genotypes" and "phenotypes." The latter is akin to my classification of response types, the former to my selection of patterns of psychological motivation. While it has not been possible for me to follow through the im-

plications of similarities that cut across response types on different levels, the distinction is important in any further work in this area.

²² Cf. Roberts, 1951, where Mr. Moustache is Grandfather B.

HISTORY OF THE GALILEAN MISSION TO THE RIMROCK NAVAHO¹

THE story of the Galilean mission at Rimrock might be divided up, for descriptive purposes, into four more or less clear-cut phases. The period covered by this report is five years—from the time of the missionary's arrival in 1945 through the time of my second field trip in 1950. Each of the first three phases might be set at approximately eighteen months' duration. The fourth phase is in progress at this writing, and, within the conditions to be described below, should continue in a fairly stable way for a much longer period than the first three.

These chronological phases have, in a rough way, behavioral connotations which serve as the rationale for their distinction. Each new phase saw different sets of conditions for the missionary, and different value orientations emerging on the part of the populace at large. Like all constructs, however, these phases, though fairly accurate when viewing the total community, are far from clear-cut insofar as they relate to the behavior of particular individuals. For various reasons, individuals can be found in any one of the temporal phases responding with behavioral patterns characteristic of the larger community, or significant segments of it, in one of the other phases. However, the energy and scope of the missionary's activities were such that he continually interacted with large segments of the population and dealt from time to time on a personal visiting basis with almost every individual among the Rimrock Navaho.

The behavioral characteristics which set these phases apart from one another will be described in some detail in the following sections. To state them with the briefest characterization, they are:

1) Phase one extended from January 1945 until the building of the church late the next year. In this period of introduction the missionary tried to establish his general role as

bringer of the gospel. This was the "warm-up." Gifts and favors were distributed—rapport was being built. But the exact teachings of the missionary and their implications for the lives of the people were not yet fully understood. Most of the people were interested, if not involved, and little hostility was apparent.

2) The second phase lasted from the time the new church building began functioning until the election of the chapter officers and Tribal Council Delegate in the spring of 1948. This could be called an "indoctrination period." The church was built and functioning, and lessons were being systematically expounded. The issues became clear-cut through the lessons and sermons. These teachings made explicit what the missionary's kind of progress would require by way of change in the lives of the people. The election of local officers became a test of strength for the missionary. The church became the focus around which the faction advocating decisive steps for widespread assimilative change was formed. This group was so identified with the missionary, that the loss of the election was a severe blow to his cause.

3) The third phase, beginning for most people early in 1948 and continuing through 1949 until, arbitrarily, the new missionary arrived to replace Reverend Fry, found the value positions clearly established. There was little friendly discussion between representatives of the two ideological groups. Factions had begun to crystallize either for or against the idea. This was a time of trouble. There was active hostility shown on many occasions, backsliding increased, and several important members of the church left, in some cases because they sensed the rise of opposition from a large segment of the community's respected and powerful leaders.

4) Phase four, beginning with the arrival of

¹ This history, in its first three phases, is set forth in narrative form as related by Jim Edwards, inter-

preter for the missionary, in Chapter VII.

Reverend Claude Banks in 1949, and continuing through the time of my second field trip in 1950, was marked by two characteristics. First the missionary's strongest supporters had so crystallized their attitudes and modes of life as in-group "believers," that they had come to think of themselves and behave as a

completely separate group within the Navaho community. Such things as intermarriages between Galileans and non-Galilean Navahos were frowned upon. Second, the active hostility had somewhat subsided, partly due to situational factors, and partly to the different personality of Reverend Banks.

PHASE ONE—*THE INGRESSION*²

In November of 1944 Reverend Fry, his wife, and twelve year old son Billy came to Rimrock. They rented a house in the village from Donald Cox, son of Andrew Cox, former Bishop of Rimrock and wealthiest resident. The Mormons did not at first object to the coming of the Frys on religious grounds. Their general attitude seemed to be one of mild toleration. Many strange people had been coming to Rimrock in recent years, and a minister of the gospel could hardly be more disruptive than some of these "tender-foot anthropologists" from the East.

Reverend Fry, a man of almost fifty, was born in Europe but came to America with his parents as an infant. The family of 3 girls and 5 boys settled in Minnesota. Fry's father died when the family had been settled for barely ten years in the United States, and since then all of Fry's siblings save one brother had also passed away.

Fry was educated at a Midwestern university where he met his wife. Though a member of the Baptist church, Fry had never been a religious man, and he tells now of how he had taken pleasure in such things as smoking, drinking, and movies. His wife, however, early underwent a strong conversion experience—influenced by her brother who was a Galilean minister—and worked for years to influence her husband in this direction. Moving to California, the Frys built up a prospering business, and Fry boasts now of having given up an establishment that netted him a thousand dollars a month.

Two events of his California life are known, and they apparently had a deep effect on him.

One was an attack of fever which had lasting effects, and the other was the loss of a large amount of money in his business apparently due to the dishonesty of a cashier whom he had trusted. One supposes that Fry, impressed by these events and influenced by his wife's convictions, realized strongly the weakness of human strength and the sinfulness of human nature.

Once converted, Fry gave up the devious (though materially rewarding) ways of the business world and became a missionary. He describes his own conversion as the touch of a mysterious power that changed his heart:

I don't know what it is—no one knows. But the gospel works in a mysterious way. It touches the heart of a person who has been going along leading a sinful life, and suddenly there are marvelous changes. . . . We've experienced this ourselves. . . . When I got the call, and we first came out here, we thought it was the most barren and desolate place we had ever seen. We never would have chosen it to live in or set up a business. But this really shows the power of the gospel. We have grown to love it and have a happy life here because of the power of the Lord in our hearts.

Operating on a small salary from the church and aided by personal means and contributions of church organizations, Fry began his missionary career. His conversion has been so comparatively recent and his training so perfunctory that Fry had to depend on the simplest sort of Biblical stories for his early theological repertoire.

The first mission assignment for Reverend Fry had been another group of Navahos at

² Cf. Appendix A for some items of Christian-Navaho glossary.

Double Mesa. Here he met Jim Edwards, later to be his interpreter for several years at Rimrock. Fry and Jim Edwards established a fairly harmonious working relationship, but at one point Fry, discouraged by Navaho drinking and occasional violence, transferred to a mission among the Ponca Indians in Oklahoma. Among the Ponca, however, he ran into even greater difficulty in his firm and unequivocal stand against peyote. He soon left the community and returned to the Navahos. When he came to Rimrock, he brought Jim Edwards with him.

The tranquil earliest period of the Frys at Rimrock was soon disturbed because of personal frictions. Billy Fry was entered in the public school at Rimrock, and his "abrupt" conversations with local residents and their children aroused some hostility. Mrs. Fry, more emotionally involved in their religious fundamentalism than her husband, began to offend local people by "dragging in" religion to contexts considered secular. The Mormon community in general has a strong feeling that religion should be kept out of the public school. Although the community has invested enough of its time and labor to make the church and school the village's most impressive edifices, built alike of solid stone blocks and located across the road from one another, there is a distinct attitude that their function should be kept separate. When a church official recently became a teacher in the public school, there was some unfavorable criticism to the effect that he couldn't keep religion out of the class-room.³ When Mrs. Fry tried openly to interfere with the school system by advocating religious observances and teachings in the school, the hostility of the community mounted.

Outside the Mormon community, Fry began to visit Navaho hogans with his interpreter. Fry's mission was to the Navahos and not to the whites. His need to establish friendly relationships was most strongly felt among the Navahos.

Fry's attitude toward Navaho religion was fairly consistent throughout his work. As he expressed it to me:

³ The school at Rimrock is a 4-room structure covering all the grades through high school. The school attendants have been principally white Mor-

Our ancestors used to go around with clubs too, but we learned a better and higher way of life. The only way these Navahos will get anywhere is if they get away from those old customs. . . . At those yeibichais and other ceremonials where they pass those masks around, they spread T.B., trachoma, and all kinds of terrible diseases. . . . Years gone back these medicine men may have had some qualification to help the people—like good men anywhere. Recently instead of healing services as they used to be in the old days, these ceremonies have become drunken orgies. They are now simply means of enriching the boys in the know-how.

In phase one Fry played down this attitude to a certain extent, cloaking it in general terms, "You have to change your ways." The emphasis in early hogan visits was on his general mission. The role was being established of a messenger bringing the good news of a better life to come and, very strongly in his case, a warning of the grim consequences to those who did not heed the message. As a harbinger of better times to come, Fry brought food and clothing for the People, candy for their children, transportation to the hospital for the sick, and such services as the distasteful task of burying the dead.

His message was:

In this world there is lot of trouble, lot of sickness, and we get tired every day. But if we accept the Lord, when our time is come, we will go to happy place—no sickness, no trouble, no getting tired. When Jesus was on this earth, he was walking all over the countryside from place to place healing the sickness and helping the people and preaching around. So today Jesus is still healing you. We believe in Him. We pray to Him every day, and we can pray for you too.

In establishing his role as a selfless servant of the Lord, Fry had to emphasize sharply the differences between himself and other whites with whom the Navahos had had contacts. To drive home the fact that he had not come for purposes of economic exploitation, Fry had to differentiate clearly between himself and the Mormons toward whom many Navahos felt a great deal of bitterness over the competition for land. His emphasis was on the great differences between the Mormon teachings and his own, which were probably not

mons, though an occasional non-Mormon and an even less frequent Navaho have attended from time to time.

as apparent to Navahos from their great dissimilarity of basic premises, as to one within the spectrum of Christian types where differences of apocalyptic vs. millennial orientation comprise greatly magnified disparities in logics.

During this period Fry visited the people as frequently as the weather permitted. He was just getting to know the region and what he could expect from its inhabitants. He generally took his wife as well as the interpreter along on these visits, but in accordance with the general practices of the Galilean church as well as possible personal dispositions, Fry did most of the talking himself. As he swung south of Rimrock in arcs of ever increasing radius to contact all of the Rimrock Navahos, Fry gave his greatest attention to three general categories of people:

a) the women

b) the infirm

c) the aged

a) *Women* were probably prominent in these early visits, in part, because in an overwhelming majority of cases Fry found only women at home when he visited. The men were away engaged in various activities such as ceremonial participation, meetings, trips to town, etc., which are more prominent in the lives of men than women. The women were at home almost constantly, attending to the children, weaving, and preparing food. The strenuous and monotonous weaving practices often led these women to complain of body-aches of various sorts induced by the unchanging posture of the weaver (and possibly helped by feelings of neglect and exclusion from the higher prestige activities of men). Often they looked to Fry and the God he spoke of to help them.

b) *The sick and infirm* were interested in the message of hope Fry brought. God cared for the sick and was preparing a place for those of them that believed in Heaven, where things were much better. Also God had powers of healing that knew no obstacles—if God saw fit to exercise them in the case concerned. This had been demonstrated by Jesus' remarkable healing while on the earth.⁴

⁴ See Leighton, 1942, for Navaho pre-occupation with sickness.

c) *The aged* were warned by Fry that their time on this earth was short now, and with the end of life near, they were urged to provide for the eventuality of death and the prospects of a choice between a happy later existence or an intolerable one. In order to assure a good life in the world to come, the aged had to realize their state of sin as human beings and "give themselves to the Lord" before it was too late. Those who failed to see the light would be "everlastingly lost"—they would go straight to Hell.⁵ Among the old, however, Fry also encountered those Navahos who were best versed in their religion and therefore less likely to accept his teachings as the only true explanation of the nature of man and the universe. Outstanding among these was Mr. Moustache, over 80 and ailing but still one of the strongest figures in the community and ranking with his two brothers among the leading ceremonial practitioners among the Rimrock Navahos.

Fry distributed large, colored pictures representing Biblical scenes to serve as visual aids in explaining the significance of his scripture stories. These handsome picture placards can now be seen adorning almost every hogan in Rimrock. They are coveted for their ornamental value even by anti-Christian Navahos.

The general tone of relations between the missionary and the Navahos in this first period was good. The missionary was a "hustler." He gave ample evidence of his good will by such things as driving the sick over long and arduous roads to the hospital at any hour of the day or night, a practice for which Navahos could not depend on the remote and difficult-to-contact Indian Service representatives. In this and other demonstrations of his dedication to aiding the Navahos, Fry tried to establish his role as one who had come to help the Indians to better times ahead. He put his message into homely analogies (using a poster of Jesus as shepherd):

We are like the sheep. Sometimes the sheep are going out, and then they are going together. That's the way if we are become Christians—all together like those sheep are all together. If we don't want to accept Jesus, then we are like one or two of those sheep

⁵ Cf. Wyman, Hill, and Osanai, 1942, for meaning of č'i-di-t'ah.

who go out from the bunch off by themselves. What is going to happen to those sheep if they go into the woods by themselves? They might fall into a ditch, or the coyote might get it. That's the way the devil gets us—like the coyote gets those sheep. And if the sheep gets into the ditch, then he can't get out because he ran away from the shepherd. That's the way it is if we're lost—something might happen to us. That's the way our story is—we're all lost like sheep, and Jesus is our Shepherd. . . . We are all gone astray, and to become saved means to turn ourselves back to Jesus, our shepherd.

The Navahos, often characterized as "pragmatic," decided to let him come around and tell what he had to tell: they would make their commitments later.⁶

When the missionary had familiarized himself with the physical region of Rimrock and its human occupancy patterns, he decided to secure, if possible, a piece of land near the center of the Navaho group. Rimrockers, who owned much of the land around the Day School, proved unwilling to come to terms that Fry desired, so he approached the Navahos themselves about the problem.

At the meeting of Navahos at which this was discussed, the People turned to Bill Begay, their headman, for advice. Bill was sophisticated in the ways of white men and at the same time solidly attached to Navaho life. His work as an interpreter for anthropologists in various parts of the Navaho reservation had given him a knowledge of Navaho lore and practice equaled by none in the area. Bill made a shrewd decision:

I told the people: If we have a place to rent, and if somebody wants to rent it, we might rent him a place for a few years. That is if we can help our people. We live a long ways apart, and we need a car and the doctor. He can take sick people to the hospital, even if it's late at night. And he can do a lot of other things to help the people. He can live among us if he wants to do like that. . . . But there's lots of missionaries who hate our singers and our corn pollen and the medicine used among us Navahos. Some of this medicine is pretty old. It's carried down from our old people and we're still taking care of that. The songs and the chants and all that stuff are from the old people way back, and we can't lay off that. We've got to go by that, and the missionary hasn't got anything to do with that. Therefore, he can't hate that. And he must leave us alone in our meetings,

* The Navahos have a long tradition of interest and borrowing from all alien cultures in some areas of

among the Rimrock group . . . not to butt in. All he can do is preach to our people, not baptize them. If they want to come to the church, they can. If the children want to come, that's up to their parents.

When we said all that, we called the missionary over and told him what had been decided . . . all the people wanted this . . . and the reason was that he issued lots of clothes. . . . Margarita's got a place to let him have for a few years, and we told him that we don't know what will happen when the lease runs out—that's up to the owner of the land.

Time was to show that Bill's estimation of the imperviousness of his people to Christian teachings was seriously mistaken. He planned to have the people take advantage of what the missionary was willing to do for them without their taking seriously anything he said. Margarita Luciano, the owner of the land, was one of those who had responded most favorably to Fry's initial approaches. So five acres of land were surveyed near the Day School, and Margarita gave Fry a five-year lease.

During the first summer, Fry and Jim Edwards began to build the mission that was to consist of three buildings—the church, the missionary's house, and the interpreter's house. Volunteer labor was occasionally contributed by some of the more enthusiastic new converts—Ken Chamiso, Jo Miguel, Jim Domingo, and Frank Gomez. Fry sometimes paid them to haul rocks, lumber, etc. by wagon.

Jim Edwards, lacking Fry's compelling sense of mission, felt unduly exploited in having to perform the hard physical labor for extended periods of time. He had, after all, been hired as an interpreter, and his monthly salary of sixty dollars was little enough without heaping on this back-breaking labor. Prodded by his wife, Jim began the first in a series of arguments over salary with the missionary which was finally to end in Jim's resignation years later.

Once during the first year, Jim left with all his belongings and worked for more than two months in Denver and other cities until he had saved several hundred dollars. Fry, who had looked unsuccessfully for another interpreter to replace Jim, finally persuaded Jim to come back. The period of Jim's absence had been a difficult one. Communication had been cut down a great deal, and the missionary had to their culture. Cf. Adair and Vogt, 1949; also Kluckhohn, 1942a, 1942b.

depend on bringing gifts and on offering prayers—often not understood—while continuing his hogan visits. In this period Fry asked Evelyn Pablo, who had extensive experience as an anthropologists' interpreter, to interpret for his mission; but she refused, and no others in the community were both skillful enough as interpreters and dedicated enough as Galileans to take on the job.

The first year was one of introduction. The missionary was digging in, and the people were courteously receptive. Many were interested and inquisitive, and theological discussions, particularly with ceremonial practitioners, were frequent. Jani Miguel, the first ceremonial practitioner who showed active interest, asked, for example:

A few years ago there was some missionary was coming around to visit my home. He said that the end is going to come, not very long from now, we have just been looking for it. It doesn't seem as if the end is going to come. I'm a medicine man, and I pray to the mountains, I don't know if I can accept what you're telling or not. Who's God? Where's all this Bible written? How was God born? Who were his mother and father? Where did he come from? And where did all this happen? My stories are different from yours, so I don't know if I can accept yours or not.

Most receptive to the missionary's stories was Charles Yazi, and through him, his "outfit," particularly his sister Dobah and his niece Mrs. Haske Chamiso. Least receptive were the old ceremonial practitioners, particularly Mr. Moustache, whose activities as headman and singer had proved a pillar of strength in the well-known traditions of the people. Mr. Moustache came to the missionary when the latter had just arrived at Rimrock, and de-

manded to know his intentions. Although Mr. Moustache did not for a moment entertain the possibility that the missionary had stories or rituals that might prove of replacement value for the Navaho counterparts, they exchanged cosmological stories with some degree of friendliness and interest. Even when Mr. Moustache and his brother Ricardo began to sense the incompatibility of the missionary's aims with their own, their responses were passive. Ricardo left the hogan when the missionary came to visit. Mr. Moustache seized on a trivial misunderstanding over the sale of a gun to show his hostility toward the missionary.

Most individuals in the community were between these divergent attitudes. They were, for the most part, interested in learning more about what this white man who helped them had to say. Closer to Charles Yazi's end of the scale of interest were Jo Miguel, Evelyn and Joseph Pablo, Jim Domingo and his wife, Margarita Luciano's "outfit," and Ken Chamiso and his wives.

It is significant that of the individuals mentioned in this last group, three of the families represent polygynous marriages; Jo Miguel, Ken Chamiso, and Joseph Pablo, who is married to both Evelyn Pablo and Margarita Luciano. Reverend Fry did not get beyond the fourth commandment in his teachings until just before Christmas of his first year in the new church.

Following quickly upon the move into the new church in the autumn of Fry's second year at Rimrock, phase two was inaugurated with a veritable "bombshell" of new understanding.

PHASE TWO—SPREADING THE LIGHT

Moving out to the new mission in the autumn of the second year, Reverend Fry, his family, and Jim Edwards began a more systematic indoctrination of their religion. In this phase the issues became clarified, and members of the community began to form into factions on the basis of them. Fry himself seemed to change in the eyes of many of the Navahos from an unusually friendly white man

with some interesting stories to tell about his religion to the insistent, unbending spokesman for a new set of rules for living. The rewards for obeying these rules ranged from miracles in this world to an ultimate release from all the burdens of this life into the empyrean tranquility of the next.

Some accepted Fry as another type of medicine man. Their allegiance was strictly prag-

matic. (Charley Mucho quit coming to church after three days of continuous prayer to Jesus had failed to cure his daughter of her illness.) Others, who had perhaps suffered early disillusionment at the hands of medicine men's cures, disregarded the curing aspect to a larger degree and thought of the better life to come. (Jim Domingo, as described in Vogt's study illustrates this type in part.)⁷

Jo Miguel, the president of the Rimrock Chapter, was at this point very interested in the teachings of the missionary and spoke at public meetings on behalf of the mission. His influence brought an early large attendance at the Sunday services. His attitude was one of being interested in trying to effect some rapprochement between the Galilean and the Navaho religions. As in the cases of others who tried to identify elements of Christian stories with similar elements in Navaho mythology, Jo fell into the category which will be outlined below (p. 121) for Pedro Miguel—the "Medium Galilean; Syncretistic Type." This class of interested church attendants could not be anything but ephemeral in the long run, because Reverend Fry was unequivocal in his stand that no Christian could serve two masters. Navaho religion was a pack of superstitions, its ceremonial practitioners engaged in "the devil's business," and there existed only two roads, one to heaven and the other to the "land of ghosts."

The Sunday services were all-day affairs. The morning service, opening at about 10:00 A.M., lasted until noon. These two hours were spent in elementary Bible study, beginning with the story of the Creation. Later, as more people became interested in the mission, levels of instruction were set up, and for a time there were classes of beginners and advanced students taught separately by Jim Edwards and Fry.

At noon the missionary served coffee, crackers, and other food when available. Clothing was distributed, and soon the pillars of the church (notably Charles Yazi and Jani Miguel) became accustomed to wearing "city-style" clothing to church, complete with full suits, shirts, and neck-ties. The women retained conventional Navaho costume, using

the heavier clothing distributed as supplementary attire.

The afternoon services usually consisted of a New Testament story selected for its moral lesson and another story of miraculous or cosmological nature. The simple stories were often told by Mrs. Fry aided by homemade visual aids showing the activities of Biblical characters.

The moralistic sermon was always delivered by Reverend Fry. The stories were interspersed with long prayers by Fry and various members of the congregation and by hymns in Navaho led by Mrs. Fry at the mechanical reed-organ.

The church which was built during this phase (at first the structure to be used as the interpreter's house served as a church) was a frame structure with a capacity for about 100 people. Fry and the interpreter usually sat on the altar dais at the south end, and Mrs. Fry sat at her organ beside the dais. Toward the end of the services it was customary to have an "altar call" at which point the minister invited all those who had felt the presence of the Lord or who felt a great need for Him or who for some other reason wanted to come to His altar to come up for the intimate group prayer with the missionary. After the altar call each of those who had come forward was called upon to give a testimonial. Testimonials were then given by others in the congregation who felt moved to do so.

Following the testimonials, which were often very lengthy, an offering was collected, usually by Charles Yazi and Jani Miguel. Although the door of the church did not open eastward as is the Navaho custom, men and women generally split up upon entering with the men going to the left and the women and children to the right just as they would in a hogan. It was only when the right side filled to overflowing that women were seen to the left of the center aisle. This was not infrequent, for there were usually many more women than men, and it was during this period that Fry's attendance reached its maximum point. Often there were over eighty people present, drifting in by wagon or horseback all during the day.

Bibles and hymn books printed in Navaho

⁷ Vogt, 1951, pp. 136-39.

were used. These books were printed by the Wycliffe publishers of religious materials. In some of the earlier Navaho hymnals, Dr. Vogt observed the following inscription written in the preface of the Christian Reformed Church version:

"For the first time the gospel hymns are made available in this popular series so that the boys and girls can take the gospel home and sing it in competition with the heathen chants of the medicine man."⁸

Classes were held to teach the people to read this transcription of their language, and an itinerant church linguist visited Rimrock periodically to instruct the group in this difficult undertaking. Since a Navaho language newspaper using the same phonetic system is put out by Indian Service men at Window Rock, some Navahos came to church just to take these language classes and stopped coming when they had learned something about reading.

Reverend Fry always emphasized that it was perfectly all right to pray in Navaho. This was not a religion only for white men; the Lord understood Navaho as well as any other language. The sheep of Jesus' flock were led to safety regardless of whether they were brown, black or white.

A large picture of Jesus leading his flock of sheep hung over the altar. Beside it was the Lord's prayer in large letters of Navaho phonetics. On one side wall, pictures showing scenes from the Bible were hung. These showed such things as Jesus healing the sick, Jesus feeding hundreds of people with five loaves of bread, Jesus on the cross, etc. They were taken down and brought to the front to be used as visual aids whenever the sermon centered around the story shown.

On the opposite wall were hung pictures showing missionaries taking God's word to various peoples all over the world. The Galilean church publishes a periodical dedicated to descriptions of the work of their church in alien lands, and this is read with considerable interest by those converts who can read English. The feeling of being united with "all dif-

ferent tribes"⁹ seems to have a positive value for many of the Navahos.

The "bombshell" which sounded the opening note of phase two was the reading in church of Commandments Five through Ten. Prior to this, Fry had concentrated on the first Four Commandments, repeating them several times to each family visited to allow their lesson to sink in. Just before Christmas he read the last Six Commandments, and with the reading of the Seventh Commandment¹⁰ all eyes were fastened on the three men present who "held two women"; Joseph Pablo, Jo Miguel, and Ken Chamiso. As in the case of his attitude toward Navaho religion, Fry did not at first press this point too hard. The blow was struck, but the men concerned kept coming to church for several months while the matter "stewed" in the minds of the "believers."

As the missionary's position became clarified, social groups began to crystallize within the community. Most important for the perpetuation of the missionary's group was the formation of a formal board of directors of the Galilean church at Rimrock. The first board formed consisted of Charles Yazi (chairman), Jani Miguel, Jim Edwards, Jim Domingo, Haske Chamiso, Charlie Blackbird, Yazi Miguel, Sam Caballo. The seven besides Jim Edwards were elected by a popular vote in the church. The duties of the board can be classed as *external* and *internal relations*.

Under the category of *external relations* it was expected of members of the board that they be unusually alert in keeping their "ears to the ground" to keep the missionary in touch with community affairs and attitudes. They were to defend the missionary and express his views at meetings, discussions, and arguments.

Under *internal relations* board members were to observe the conduct of church members, and in cases of backsliding were to call in the offender for a "good talking-to so that unbelievers couldn't point their fingers at the Christian people."

As time passed more than one member of the

this tribe of Indians, because he had never seen any at the ceremonials who wore such cloth turbans, flowing sheet-like robes, etc.

¹⁰ "Thou shalt not commit adultery," Exodus, XX, 14.

⁸ Vogt, E. Z., Field Notes, 1947, Rimrock.

⁹ Once when I was visiting Charles Yazi's house, he showed me a copy of this publication under which was the caption "God's word is brought to the Indians." He expressed bewilderment and interest in

board itself suffered the shame of being called up on the carpet. The members of the board were also expected to provide the backbone of congregational participation in the Sunday services, to give testimonials telling of what the church had done for them, etc. Jani was outstanding in his performance of this duty and could be depended upon to give long testimonials at every service telling of how he had given up his Navaho medicine practice for Christianity.

Members of the board were expected, as part of their external relations, to do a certain amount of informal missionary work among their neighbors. The organization of this board and its active functioning gave the church members a strong "we" feeling that was always re-enforced whenever conduct was morally questionable. The offender suffered the humiliation of in-group sanctions, and the principles of the group were publicly reaffirmed in strength.

In opposition to the missionary's activities, an increasing number of people began an active protest against his continued operations. Directly threatened by the teachings of this missionary, the ceremonial practitioners formed the core of this group and began to exercise their not inconsiderable influence. Among the first to feel these pressures were Audrey Mario and Nancy Baca, who had been among Reverend Fry's earliest strong converts. They made a trip to the camp meetings at El Paso where they testified publicly before the assembled group of Galilean ministers and converts from various Indian tribes.

Mr. Moustache, head of their "outfit" and maternal grandfather to each of them, very quickly exercised his power and forced their withdrawal from the church activities. In their arguments with their grandfather, the girls bring out quite strongly the position of women in changing Navaho society.¹¹ The feelings they expressed may have combined

with other indications that current ceremonial practices were not filling the needs of women, for Mr. Moustache was reported to be urging increased female participation in their song ceremonials. A year later, at the time of my first field trip, I heard these urgings in operation; further attempts at revitalization of conventional practice were to follow.

The question of polygyny had "stewed" in the minds of the church attendants and the missionary for several months now, and the missionary was reluctant to bring it up again in church because he sensed the trouble it would bring. He confided to the Indian Service agent during this period that he was "praying for guidance."

Help came for the missionary from an unexpected source within the church. One Sunday Johnny Blanco stood up in church and said that he, as a Christian, could not tolerate members of the church holding two wives. Charles Yazi lent strong support to this testimonial and said that he had been against polygyny for several years and would continue to denounce the "two-wife men."

It is significant that these two men were the ones to raise the polygyny issue. Charles Yazi had lost three wives through unfortunate illnesses. The elements of guilt and hostility associated with his experiences could easily have combined with his feelings of deprivation to bring about a strong stand against any man's enjoying a polygynous union.¹² Johnny Blanco, who had two wives himself, is known in the community as a "big liar." Johnny seems to have grasped this situation to get himself out of uncomfortable circumstances. At first an apparently strong convert, Johnny found his position intolerable¹³ and seized upon the question that had been raised of "two-wife men" to state flatly that he would not return to the church until the situation was remedied. This is rather amusing because Johnny had calculated his act in such a way

¹¹ These conversations were reported in church in the form of testimonials prior to the actual severance of relations between the girls and the Galilean missionary.

¹² Cf. Charles Yazi's life story, Chapter VIII.

¹³ Dr. Vogt's case study of Johnny Blanco gives an interesting version of Johnny's subsequent description of his motives for quitting. According to my informants, Johnny Blanco testified faithfully of his conver-

sion before the throng of believers at El Paso. His version of "telling them off" delivered to Vogt if indeed untrue is probably motivated by a combination of fantasy fulfillment of his then underlying wishes and his current wish to gain Vogt's favor. It is interesting that his actual severance with the church seized upon a "trumped up" excuse reminiscent of the behavior of Mr. Moustache when he wished to show hostility toward the missionary.

as to be free of the missionary whichever course Fry took. Assuming that Johnny wanted to keep his two wives, he could stand on his rather ludicrous position of moral indignation, and refuse to return because the missionary had failed to purge "two-wives men" (or reform them); or he could take a position based on his actual polygynous marriage arrangement and be excluded from returning if his own program were carried through. He never did return to the Galilean mission and that very fall reaffirmed his ties with the Navaho community by having an Enemy Way ceremonial performed over him.

The re-introduction of the polygyny question by the Navahos themselves served as an excuse for Fry to take up his preaching against this practice. Now, he stated, it could not be said against him that he had pressed the unpleasant topic, for the People themselves had insisted upon its importance.

The missionary's interpretation of Johnny's withdrawal from the church points up, once again, his attitude toward anthropologists:

One of the worst cases here that really highlights our problem here is that of Johnny Blanco. He was a good member of the church until they had that squaw dance last year at his place. For two years they hadn't had a squaw dance in this community and everything was progressing fine. . . . Then . . . [an anthropologist] came along and put on that Squaw Dance over there. He says he didn't, but I know he did. He gave them the money to put it on, and he may have even given them a drink or two. I didn't actually see him do it, but I know that it's true, and since that day Johnny Blanco has gone wrong. His wife is still holding fast to her Christian beliefs, but Johnny is lost.

Although anthropologists who have been at Rimrock have tried to influence decisions as little as possible, there is no doubt that families such as the Pablos who have maintained close relations with these visitors have been influenced by anthropologists' general attitudes toward Navaho religion, in general much more respectful than that of other whites with whom they came into contact.

Mr. Thompson, the Indian agent, evinced a similar attitude. In some of his conversations with persons in such conflictful positions as the veterans John Nez and Eddie Mario, he often showed a supporting attitude toward

conventional ways, because he believed that bases for solidary community action lay in these areas of shared values.

When the question of polygyny came into prominence again, and the pressures of diffuse in-group sanctions began to operate, the missionary invoked the additional hints of sanctions by puissant external forces, because (a) it was against God's word; (b) it was against the federal law; (c) it was against the Navaho tribal constitution.

Forced to act by these mounting pressures, two of the "two-wives men" withdrew from the church, and only one remained under new and acceptable conditions. Joseph Pablo and his wives withdrew, as did Jo Miguel and his. One Sunday Ken Chamiso and his second wife came to the mission and informed the minister that they had decided to make the arrangement of supporting his former first wife without living any longer as man and wife. They were doing this because they wanted to be good Christians.

Joseph Pablo and Jo Miguel had been strong supporters of the missionary. Moreover, they were prominent in the local politics of the Rimrock community. Joseph Pablo was policeman, Jo Miguel was president of the chapter, and Evelyn Pablo was secretary. The demand upon these two that they give up one of their wives appeared to them in each case greater than they could be expected to perform. Joseph Pablo's second wife, Margarita Luciano (who had rented Fry the church land), was an indispensable economic support for the activities of the prominent Joseph and his first wife Evelyn. Evelyn, ailing physically, had arranged this marriage for her husband whose physical needs she realistically estimated along with their mutual economic needs.

In the case of Jo Miguel, the marriage concerned was between Jo and two Caballo sisters. Jo felt a strong obligation toward the poor-sighted younger sister who had borne him several children as well as toward the older attractive one who was for him a great source of strength and support through her personal characteristics and greater education.

Ken Chamiso's case offered an easier solution. The second wife was the daughter of the first by a prior marriage. Ken retained the

second, younger, more attractive wife. It was relatively easy for the mother to step down for her daughter. Thus, while the divorce was not strictly speaking the one suggested by the missionary who emphasized the renunciation of the adulterous second union, it satisfied the formal requirements of monogamy.¹⁴

The shift of these two powerful members of the community to the anti-missionary group crystallizing around the ceremonial practitioners was the keynote of phase two. Their shift was brought about through an increased emphasis on the notion, common to Christian churches, of a single, omnipotent, omniscient deity, with all the connotations of personal guilt involved in transgression against His moral order. This was so foreign to this-worldly Navaho thinking that talk of punishment was interpreted as an expression of the missionary's personal wishes. The missionary, it was said, was "talking against" them. Although they had not been hitherto overly bothered by the missionary's talking against the ceremonial practitioners, they now added this to their list of grievances.

The change in attitude toward the missionary from phase one to phase two on the part of these "two-wives" people is expressed by Jo Miguel:

We had an 'e·neišo·di· (missionary) in here, and he tried to show the people the right road to travel on and tell them a lot of stories from the Bible. . . . The time that the missionary first came in here, we didn't know anything about the Bible or God or Jesus Christ. The missionary when he first came here didn't say he was going to hate our medicine man or talk against them or against our Navaho ways. And he didn't tell us that he was going to tell us how to live in our own lives. He was only going to tell us stories about the Bible, those stories about how everything was in the beginning, and what happened in early

¹⁴ Complying with the missionary's exhortation to arrange a monogamous marriage, Ken Chamiso declared himself officially separated from his first wife, Sarah, and wed only to his second wife, Dorothy, who was Sarah's daughter by an earlier marriage. There was some concern at first about who would support Sarah, but Ken announced that he would support her, though they would not live as man and wife. However, later, I was told, Sarah had a child supposedly by Ken.

Clearly, however, this separation was not without inner difficulties for Sarah, the discarded older wife. The following are excerpts from her Thematic Apperception protocol:

times . . . but later on after the missionary was here for a while and he tricked us into coming all the time, he started to try to tell us what to do, and what not to do, in our own lives. And he started to talk against our medicine men. All those who were baptized in his church had to do all those things that he wanted—and I think it's too hard to make all those changes in your own lives and to give up all the medicine men and all that.

The notion that the missionary had changed his program was only partly true. The increasing antagonism of the medicine men brought out in heated arguments a more clearly defined statement of policy by Fry. Also he became more selective in bestowing favors. Whenever he took Navahos on long rides, he tried to make them promise to attend the church in return. In some cases he avoided giving rides where there was no return in church allegiance to be gained. He complained that the government was not giving him any money for gasoline and often drove the sick only as far as the cooperative store, calling the ambulance to come from Tselizhine, to pick up the patients.

It seems, however, that in great part the change attributed to the missionary was due to an increasing realization of the implications of his teachings and the demands they required under the simple admonishment to "change the ways."

The missionary showed an admirable capacity and willingness for hard physical work. He supported the cooperative store project and pitched in on the physical labor of building the structure to house it. In addition to gaining the fellowship of the Navahos working on this project, Fry clearly stood to gain in centralizing Navaho trade at this point close to his church rather than in the village of Rimrock.

Card 4. This man is mad (angry) . . . The woman is trying to tell the man not to be mad about anything. The woman was mad because there was another woman in the house, and the man was mad because he wanted to talk to the other woman. But the woman in the picture is trying to prevent the man from doing it.

Card 9. She was running away from this other woman, and she finally outran the other one. . . . She stole what the other woman had in her hand, and she ran after her and caught her, and took it away from her, and got her stuff back. After that the other woman just ran away. . . .

Fry supported other ventures to promote Navaho self-sufficiency (and incidentally to help circumvent the tight Mormon control on the local Navaho market). For example, he and Mrs. Fry sponsored bead-work classes, and they helped to dispose of the produce of this new occupation through church channels all over the country. When the co-op store was in difficult financial straits because of the mismanagement of John Nez and Eddie Mario, Fry offered to make the store a substantial loan. He and Jim Edwards were seen helping out behind the counter when Charlie Blackbird, a Galilean member, replaced John Nez and Eddie Mario as Manager.

During this period the Mormons were stirred to increased activity, which will be described in the next chapter, and Fry's denunciation of their "false" teachings increased in intensity. His attitude was that they had had their chance to "save" the Indians for these many years but had only "skinned" them in a dishonest way. He considered their increased interest now to be unfair.

Fry arranged to give religious instruction to the school children on Wednesday afternoons at the mission. The only government requirement in these matters is that the children receive signed slips of the consent of their parents to attend the Bible classes. Fry succeeded in getting most of the Navaho parents to sign slips which were probably in many cases not very well understood. At any rate, most of the school children crossed the road on Wednesday afternoons and enjoyed a couple of hours of hymns and Bible stories. Fry and his wife were very skillful in conducting these classes and ingenious in their techniques for getting enjoyable group participation by the children.

Fry remarked to me that many adults coming to the church for the first time already had a good knowledge of many hymns because they heard their children singing them on their weekends at home. He came to regard these classes as an effective tool for bringing in older folks as well as getting the children while they were young.

Reverend Fry arranged through the main of-

fice of the church to have a resident nurse assigned to the mission. Jim Edwards and the nurse drove around and helped the sick. For the four months of her stay, the nurse helped to build a great deal of good will toward the missionary. When the missionary returned from a trip to California, he was told by the school-teacher that the nurse had been running off to Gallup almost every day while they were gone. Jim Edwards insists that this was not true, and that he had accompanied her on trips to the hogans all during the Frys' absence. True or not, the merest suspicion of "immoral" conduct on her part caused the Frys to send the nurse away, and their action was never understood by the Navahos. The service she had rendered was a positive aspect of the mission's operations valued even by those who were against the missionary. The fact that Fry forced her to leave was used by his enemies as an example of the missionary's inflexibility.

By the time of the election of chapter officers, the pro- and anti-missionary factions had become fairly well defined in terms somewhat different than the conventional progressive-conservative cleavage because of the involvement of the Galilean church leaders in local politics. The missionary issue served as an occasion for a somewhat different focus around which support or opposition for the two competing candidates for headman was organized. The return of Charlie Blackbird and Jim Chamiso, both of whom had been away among the whites for years and now showed an interest in the Galilean church as well as in local politics, probably marked the turning point in this phase of missionary activities.

Jim Chamiso, who had returned after many years at school and work for the Indian Service, was a strong supporter of the church. His qualifications for the position of delegate (headman) were such as to give him a large portion of the community support in preliminary discussions. When he stood up and declared his position as strongly in favor of extensive changes along the lines advocated by the missionary, he antagonized the powerful conservative leaders.¹⁵ Charles Yazi and Jani

patterns of individualism and their modes of decision-making would predispose them to resistance to any

¹⁵ Even aside from the presence of the missionary issue, such a program for widespread change through strong individual leadership would be difficult to accomplish among Navaho groups. Navaho cultural

Miguel, Jim's most eloquent supporters, were so identified with the missionary by the community that Jim's defeat in the elections the

next spring was a severe blow to the missionary's cause.

PHASE THREE—THE TIME OF TROUBLES

The end of phase two was marked, then, by the return into local community life of these two Navahos who had been away from their community for some years: Charlie Blackbird, who took over the managership of the co-op store, and Jim Chamiso, who ran in the elections of 1947-48 for headman. Both of these men were strong supporters of the mission, though Charlie Blackbird was known as a frequent backslider.

It is difficult to say what might have happened if these two men had not returned in time to involve the missionary in the political controversies of that period, but it seems likely that their return was simply a catalyst in a situation already containing the conflicting elements which caused the events of that period to take on their highly charged character. The touchy points which served as election issues might have remained submerged for a longer period, but the combination of events surrounding this election would probably have come to a head before too long. At the very least, it must be said that Reverend Fry *allowed* himself to become involved in local politics, and there is some evidence to indicate that he seized upon the opportunity, hoping for quick success through political action for his own program.

Both Charlie Blackbird and Jim Chamiso stood for widespread "progressive" changes in Navaho life—such things as adult education, efficiently managed co-op store, concerted community action on land problems, etc. Both were enthusiastic attendants at the mission though perhaps for somewhat different personal reasons.

The question of polygyny had alienated the Pablos and Jo Miguel and his family from the mission. Their active opposition, however, was reserved for some situation that required an unequivocal statement of position. The situa-

tion presented itself in the political struggle surrounding the election of a delegate.

For two reasons the factionalism in this election did not fall into the old cleavage between progressives and conservatives in the community (an alignment which would have been less entangling for the missionary): (a) the eagerness of the frustrated apostate Galileans to take the opportunity to express hostile sentiments against the missionary's continued activities; (b) the missionary's own willingness to become involved, hoping, perhaps, for a quick rise in influence through the political ascendancy of his strong constituents.

When Jim Chamiso's platform took on the aspects of a church "party-line," a new complexion was given to the campaign. The question of polygyny which might have remained peripheral to a non-church-affiliated progressive became central in the campaign. The issues of the election were focused on the very points which were central to the continued existence and success of the mission—attitudes toward Navaho ceremonialism and polygyny.

In the first taking of votes, which was declared invalid later because of technicalities of voting procedure, Jim Chamiso had the support of the majority of the Navahos on the basis of his qualifications for the job. When he stood up and made an acceptance speech declaring his position for widespread radical change (which corresponded very much to those sought by the missionary), the issue became "missionary's program or not." The election which followed that spring had many of the characteristics of a plebiscite; the opposition to Jim Chamiso carried the election largely on the basis of antipathy to the radical changes which Jim so forcefully advocated.

Jo Miguel, elected by a coalition of ceremonial practitioners, conservative leaders, and polygamists, began to collaborate with the

(Continued from p. 27)

such effort. The story surrounding the circumstances

of this election as related in Chapter VII tends to demonstrate this aspect of Navaho response to strong innovating leadership.

strong conservative leaders to consolidate the position they had won in this election. At a closed meeting of many of these leaders, including Mr. Moustache, Billy Begay, John Mucho, Evelyn and Joseph Pablo, the anti-missionary faction filled in the other offices of the slate with their own people.

The immediate reaction on the part of the missionary's followers was of protest against (a) the need for having had a second election after Jim Chamiso had been duly chosen; (b) the unfair nature of the closed selection of the other officers for the chapter. Their protests were too late, however. The blow was struck, and the power had gone into the hands of the anti-missionary group.

The delayed effect of the election among church attendants was striking. Backsliding was on the increase. Bob Johnson, a Navaho with a long history of vacillation between reform and drunken violence, began, after an early interest in the mission, to attend Navaho ceremonials more frequently and often became quite drunk. His proclivity for wife-beating while drunk forced the missionary into frequent action to help Mrs. Johnson, who was a Staunch Galilean. At least three times in this period, Bob beat his wife when she got out of church and came to meet him at the cooperative store. Each time, however, he repented in public testimonial at church and once again offered himself to the Lord.

Opposition to Charlie Blackbird as store manager became a part of the anti-missionary group's campaign. They tried to get him out several times by taking complaints to the sub-agent and by attempting to bring the question to a public vote. Missionary's puppet or not, the conduct of the store under Charlie Blackbird's management had been of such a quality that the people refused to remove him when the issue came up for a vote. Charlie's position was so uncomfortable, however, and his attachment to the church so deeply bound in personal conflict that his backsliding became more frequent and more serious. He no longer attended mission services regularly, though his wife did, and both were seen frequently at Navaho ceremonials, both often drunk. Desiring to be released from the uncomfortable position of store manager, yet unable to do so against public wishes, Charlie was apparently

attempting to turn public opinion against him by engaging in irresponsible conduct so that he would eventually be removed as a matter of community wish. It was rumored that Charlie, even when he did attend the Sunday mission services, no longer believed what the missionary said but simply sat and listened indifferently.

Johnny Blanco's "Squaw Dance" the fall before had found many of the church members in attendance. Johnny's ties to the old religion had been reaffirmed in public ceremonial. The "Squaw Dance" was interpreted by the missionary as a personal blow against him:

This last Squaw Dance that they had last week was a bit of spite. . . . They tried to throw one last year but never made much of a go of it. Now Jo Miguel, John Mucho, Bill Begay, and Evelyn are in the saddle, and they want to show their strength.

Jim Edwards himself began to be worried over the trouble within the Rimrock Navaho community, and rumor had it that he was getting drunk in Gallup more often. His arguments with Fry about salary increased in intensity, and finally in the fall of 1948 Jim quit his job and went to Gallup to work as a mechanic. Jim Chamiso became interpreter in his place.

During this period the missionary's emphasis on renunciation of Navaho religious practices was said to have diminished. One reason that may have been largely responsible for this impression of the Rimrock people came out in my subsequent conversations with Jim. Toward the end of his stay at Rimrock, Jim Edwards had undergone a re-conversion experience to Navaho religion (cf. pp. 125 ff., case study of Jim Edwards) and from that point on neglected to translate segments of Fry's preaching:

As soon as I had that sing I went back to Rimrock. I didn't tell Fry about it, and I didn't tell the people about it either. Then my eyes were all right, and from that time on I didn't care much about the gospel religion . . . and I didn't talk against my own religion from then on, because I thought that the medicine men cured my eyes.

It seemed that an increasing number of church members tried now to keep both their church membership and their own ceremonial

practices. Bill Begay attributes this attitude to a speech he made to the community:

When all the trouble with the missionary began last year I made a big talk before the people. I told them that I went to school, and I knew some English, and I had some white friends. My white friends and I sit down and talk—we are friendly to each other, but I always know that I am Indian. I can never become a white man. My skin is brown, not white; my eyes are black, not blue; my hair is black, not some other color; and I can never change that. I am an Indian, and I have to go by those things that were given to us from way back. . . . Those things are for us Indians. If I can change my skin and become a white man, then I can take the white man's religion. While I am an Indian I'm not going to throw away all those things which have come down from our people.

The staunchest of the Galileans were unwavering in their attendance. Charles Yazı and Jani Miguel came regularly through bad weather, pinyon season, or whatever. There were still about twice as many women as men in continuous attendance at the mission services.

Margarita Luciano, one of the most enthusiastic of the early converts, dropped out on the polygyny issue. The missionary, anxious about the renewal of the lease on her land, attempted to persuade her to come back, but though it was said that she was still interested in the mission, the power of Joseph and Evelyn Pablo over Margarita's affairs was such that Margarita was never seen in the mission again. Some of her "outfit" continued to come, however, and are still to be counted among the strong supporters of the mission.

The school, located across the road, received a new teacher in this period, and the teacher and her husband cooperated in a friendly way with the Frys, allowing the children to attend Wednesday Bible classes as arranged by signing the slips. They would also have granted permission to the Mormon missionaries who arrived from outside Rimrock to work in the area on a full-time basis except for the fact that Indian Service Policy prohibited teaching by more than one church in any particular day school. It was a question of first come, first served; and, in compensation, the Mormon missionaries were allowed to start a scouting group for boys. Each Thursday afternoon the young Mormon missionaries would be seen in

the school yard teaching the Navaho school-boys how to make rope, tie knots, work with wood, etc.

The activities of the Mormon church increased during this period although their staff of two full-time missionaries was rather unstable with a rapid turnover of one member while the other remained for his full two-year stint. Probably more as a gesture of protest against the Galilean church than as a declaration of positive conviction, several of the older conservative members of the Navaho community joined the Mormon church. Prominent among these was Mr. Moustache, whose father had been baptized in the Mormon church in the early settler days of the late nineteenth century.

Mr. Moustache was talking more and more about the need to educate the younger folks in Navaho ways. Their absence from the community during the school months in the winter precluded their hearing the "winter stories" which could only be told after the first frost. The ignorance of the younger people of their Navaho religion made them receptive to the ready-made cosmological and cosmogonical substance of the missionaries' teachings. The expense of learning the mythology in traditional Navaho fashion was also deplored, and Mr. Moustache talked of building a large hogan especially for teaching these boys the chants.

Bill Begay, also deploring the disintegration of Navaho ceremonial knowledge among the younger people, suggested to me that the anthropologists who had been recording all of these chants and stories should keep one of their men at Rimrock at all times to teach the young people about their own ceremonial ways. He suggested a special hogan be constructed by the community for this purpose.

During this period another expression of hostility from an unknown source even caused the missionary to have trouble with his own wife. His interpreter told of an anonymous letter that came in the mails one day from a woman purporting to be his lover. Mrs. Fry, after reading the letter, packed to leave, and it was only after considerable pleading and explaining that her husband induced her to stay.

In December of 1948, just before the end of my first field trip, I encountered the school

teacher one day in a perfect fury over the recent behavior of the Frys. Apparently the Frys had now lost the friendly disposition of these, their only close white neighbors. The incident involved the Navaho couple who were employed at the Day School. This couple was non-Rimrock people, and though wishing to leave their jobs, they had been persuaded to stay through the end of the school year. Apparently the couple had expressed their unhappiness to the missionary, and one morning the school teacher was awakened by her husband:

At about 7:00 o'clock in the morning, saying—"Honey, the missionary is moving out the Juarez family and all of their stuff." I said that he must be mistaken and went back to sleep. When we got out there in the morning, we found that sure enough they had come, backed their truck right up to the gate, and taken them off. They had left their place dirty and messed up—pulled down the lamp, dumped their garbage in the government truck, and left without saying a word to us. If we had been away, it could have been understood, but we were right here, and they just came and spirited off our people. I think that the Frys arranged a special trip just for that, because we went to Railtown that morning, and we passed them coming back while we were on the way in. They still haven't said a word to us—they've given us a wide berth ever since. . . .

That was really an underhanded, unethical trick. And to think of how honest and open we've always been to them! Why, Mrs. Fry came over here nearly hysterical about her troubles many times, and we'd comfort her even though we felt it was none of our business.

The fall of 1948 brought a large pinyon

crop, and church attendance dropped off considerably as the people camped out to pick pinyons. Toward the end of my first visit, the sense of "trouble-brewing" that characterized this phase was mounting. The last election had brought the polygyny question to a head, and this problem which might have continued dormant indefinitely was now out in the open. Some of the younger men celebrated the election of Jo Miguel and his slate of officers (most of which were bigamous marriage participants) by becoming quite drunk and joyously proclaiming that they too would be able to have more than one wife. This became a matter for concern even among the older members of the community who were against the missionary and his methods, for they hoped for the gradual elimination of polygyny to conform with the federal and tribal rulings.

As Bill Begay put it:

All the people are saying that if these leaders can have two wives, all our younger people will do the same, and all have two wives. Even Victor says that this is the worst thing that he doesn't like about what's going on here now—this two-wives business. And some of them kind of hate me now because I helped out with that. I am beginning to feel that more and more now. The people are against the two-wife people—maybe they are right. Maybe it will quiet down if we take those two-wife men out of office. It used to be quiet here in the meetings, but now it's just like a fire burning up over that one thing whenever we have a meeting. I think that it might be a better thing if we remove them from the offices and take them aside for a while. Maybe this will quiet down and be like it was before.

PHASE FOUR—PERIOD OF STABILIZATION

Things did quiet down at Rimrock, but they were hardly, as Bill Begay would have wished, "like it was before."

Reverend Fry, ailing in this climate and altitude, was transferred to another post and was replaced by Reverend and Mrs. Claude Banks. Reverend Banks differs considerably from Reverend Fry in personality characteristics. He is shy, less aggressive, and tends to remain at home around the mission rather than travel among the hogans as much as Reverend Fry.

Reverend Banks' timidity, which, he confessed to me, was something of a handicap in urban church work, was perhaps one of his greatest assets among the Navahos. Navaho patterns of interaction are more consonant with behavior that would, among us, be thought rather shy. Church attendance rose, and the average of Sunday attendances from the time Banks took over the church until the time of my second field trip in 1950 was 88 (including children). Reverend Fry's average had

been 71.¹⁶ The largest turn-out for services is in the winter and early spring. In summer and fall local Navahos disperse more widely, and their greater separation and increased activity cause a drop in church attendance.

Charlie Blackbird, apparently unable either to resign as store manager (because of public pressures to stay on the job) or to retain his job with any degree of personal satisfaction (because of conflicts over his role vis-à-vis the missionary and the larger community), finally left Rimrock taking several thousand dollars of the co-op store's funds. Charlie left his wife at Rimrock, and she continued to come to church occasionally but was known as a backslider. Paul Mario, who replaced Charlie, was not very keenly interested in the missionary, but his wife was one of the staunchest Galileans.

The most impressive characteristics of the fourth phase center about the crystallization of certain patterns of behavior and attitudes both of the strongest church members and those who were most resolutely opposed to the mission. Though there were still many doubtfuls and many vacillators who tried first one thing and then another, those on each extreme had clearly developed attitudes.

The strongest Galileans boasted that they no longer believed in ghosts, so were free to travel around at night without fear. They also made conscious and public attempts to debunk Navaho taboos such as mother-in-law avoidance. Sally Yazi Domingo went to a burial, neglected the traditional precautions associated with death, and then testified about her experience (and lack of consequent trouble) in church the next Sunday.

Reverend Fry had described the principal changes which took place among Christianized Navahos as primarily in two areas:

I) Cleanliness and general modernization of living conditions, particularly in the matter of having a house rather than a hogan, clean cooking utensils, stove, etc.

II) A certain "humanization" manifested in kindness to animals. This characteristic is a

definite change from Navaho indifference or even cruelty to animals, but the missionary's interpretation of this change was derived from an assumption that non-Christians were somehow less refined, or as Fry put it, had more of a "grabbing instinct" that precluded politeness or kindness.

Reverend Banks, taking over a well-established mission, began to conserve on distribution of charitable gifts by insisting that a Navaho attend five consecutive Sundays before he could be given clothing.

The differences that impressed Reverend Banks when he came to Rimrock between conducting services in an ordinary Galilean church in our own society and a mission to the Navahos were four:

a) *time*—Navahos were not content to have a brief service for an hour or two and then return home. They came, often from great distances by wagon, horseback, etc., and their own pattern of religious ceremonial was one of much greater length than conventional Christian services. They insisted, therefore, in continuing with lengthy testimonials and singing all through the day. Women especially were prominent in testifying at length at the front of the church and in singing. Sally Yazi Domingo, Dorothy Chamiso, Clarissa Miguel, and Emily Gomez often sang in front of the church as a quartet, and Nanabah often gave solos.

b) *seating* was conventionally Navaho with men to the left and women to the right of the center aisle.

c) *language*—the tedious problem of translations for every item of the ceremonials was one that was time consuming as well as requiring a new skill for the missionary (i.e., working through an interpreter, problems of phrasing, etc.). After the people who were regular staunch participants were quite well known, both missionaries dispensed with translations for their testimonials. These were quite repetitive, and the missionary was the only one present, usually, who did not understand the Nav-

¹⁶ The question of the effect of a given missionary's personality on his success in a particular area is an interesting one. Father J. V. Martin tells me from his general missionary experience in China that the peripheral group of "rice-bowl" Christians fall away when a person of uncongenial personality is working

in an area though the hard core of converts remains fairly constant. At Rimrock it is interesting that one of the backsliders, Evelyn Pablo, told me that she thought Reverend Fry was better because he was active; and "did more for the people." Evelyn is still apostate.

aho. If anything unusual had been said, Jim Chamiso told the missionary afterwards.

d) *illustrations*—the illustrations used by the missionary in telling his stories had to be taken from a simple local context to be made understandable to the Navaho. Both missionaries were very skillful at this and used the conventional analogy of Jesus and the flock of sheep which fitted quite well into Navaho context. The picture illustrations were popular and frequently used.

When I asked Navahos during this phase what they had learned through being strong Galileans all this time, the answers fell into two general types though both reasons were probably present in a great many persons:

1) learning white ways—keeping residence places (now almost exclusively *house* rather than *hogan* for staunch Galileans) clean, neat, waterproof, etc. Learning to take care of things, sleep on beds, dress properly, and behave respectably.

2) having different feelings—many described having felt sick, lonely, hostile (cf. Charles Yazi's life story), and now feeling healthier, happier, and with greater purpose in life.

To cite a few excerpts from staunch Galilean attitude:

(Jani Miguel) I felt lonely before I was converted, because I felt I was living only myself, and cared only for who would look out for what I did, where I went, etc. But after I found the Lord, it was different. I wanted to make more friends, meet more people, and I am happy and feeling much encouraged and more power in me not only because I have more friends and want to meet more and more, but because I have a better friend than a human friend—that's the Lord God.

(Emily Gomez) I used to feel weak in my life . . . that I needed something inside of me to help overcome the many things which had to do with my life—and I thought that some human being might help me—but as I looked at the human beings they didn't have the strength to help me out, because they could only see on the outside of me, . . . I gave my life to the Lord, and I know definitely in my heart that He accepted my promise and accepted me . . . and, a lot of times when I'm up against things, I pray to Him and He helps me, not only with the things around me, but with my life. Before I accepted the Lord I used to have lots of trouble with my body, I spent most of my time in bed . . . my head used to begin to ache all over, and the first thing I knew I was in

bed and couldn't get up. I used to have this trouble lots of times, and when I went to the hospital or tried to have sings, it only lasted a week or a month, and then the sickness came back again. . . . Since I've accepted the Lord, I've never had any of this trouble any more.

A number of Galileans, particularly among the staunch women converts, had by now experienced a genuine emotional conversion experience. Sally Yazi had described hers to John Nez:

When the missionary calls us to the front to kneel down to pray to Jesus, we are praying there, and Fry used to come around and say something in our ear. When that happened, we used to get some kind of funny feeling like in our stomach or in our heart, and then it would come up little by little until it got to our throats and almost choke us. After that feeling comes to a person, the person feels much better if anything was wrong or the person was feeling bad. Then you can talk better, sing better, and feel better.

Margarita Luciano, who had been forced out of the church on the polygyny issue (largely, it was rumored, because of the power held over her by Joseph and Evelyn Pablo), still credited the missionary with efficacious cures but now finds reasons for being against his church and displays a new interest in a nearby white farmer who preaches informal weekly services at his farm house.

When my mother and father died, and I had lots of children, I felt awfully bad about it, lonesome for my mother and father. Felt awfully bad about it, and that made me sick. I thought I'd want to die, I felt so bad . . . but on the other hand I had many children and I wished I'd get over that and feel well so I could take care of my children and my livestock. . . . Fever was the main thing I got pretty often, and then I had to go to bed . . . I had much sickness and had many Navahos singers . . . also for my sisters and family . . . and the missionary said that if we came with him we wouldn't have any more sickness . . . we'd get well. That's why I did it. And when I joined the missionary I was feeling good all the time—I didn't get sick after that any more—and my children too—didn't use the medicine men any more. . . . But when we went further, and he started telling the Indians again that he didn't think it was good to have sheep, jewelry, bracelets, all of that—and some kinds of jobs too herding, and farming—they had to quit that and only go to church and believe in Jesus. After I heard all these things I began to dislike it again. About making me forget Navaho religion, not to have sheep, farming, not to do my own work . . . so I just quit.

The this-worldly quest for "hard-goods" is a Navaho value which runs strongly counter to those elements of Christian teaching which suggest renunciation of material wealth.

Andres, who, because he lives on the farthest corner of the Navaho area and is a ceremonial practitioner, doesn't come into very frequent contact with the missionary, expressed himself vehemently (if with tongue in cheek) when he told me of a recent visit of the missionary:

The missionary showed me a picture of Jesus leading a bunch of sheep. He said that these were fine plump sheep but that they couldn't help you—you have to depend on this man in the picture. But I told him I can't shear the man—I have to shear the sheep to get along. And the missionary showed me another picture with lots of men in it with Jesus. These men all had long beards. The missionary said that these were good men in the picture, who were going along with Jesus. Then why don't they shave if they're good men. I don't think that those pictures the missionary shows amount to anything. . . . If he can really save some people, why doesn't he show us the people whom he has helped—some who were sick and skinny and came to him instead of those people in the pictures. If they like the pictures, they should get some of those funny robes and ride to church on camels like they do in the pictures—those that like them so much—it's not for us.

Andres continued the discussion about the missionary's story of the end of the world coming:

(He said) that when the end of the world comes everything will all burn up and all the bad people, livestock, and all the world. Then at last Jesus will come back and make all the people live again and after that He'll ask each one the question about who is interested in Jesus. All who believe in Him will live again and never have a hard time. And those who don't will burn up—go into the fire.

I don't think it will come out that way. My old people used to say that when the time comes for the end of the world to come, a mule will have a little colt—that means the end will be close. Another sign of the end will be a woman will have a grey-haired baby. These things haven't happened yet, so I don't think there is anything to it.

John Nez, pursuing the end-of-the-world discussion with me at another time commented:

Some of these missionaries (especially Jani Miguel) say it's all drying up around here—no rain—and it's going to all burn up. That's what it says in the Bible. And they say that we'd better join up now to go to

Heaven instead of Hell. They say that there are only two ways—and they say that all these wells will dry up and instead of water coming up it will be all *blood*.

I think it's O.K. to go to church sometimes, to meet your friends (or maybe a girl-friend (laugh)) over there and sing some nice songs, have some good food, etc. It's all right for them to have a church for the social gathering part of it—but *Blood out of the wells*, that's the last straw.

Andres deplored the fact that Jani Miguel, a ceremonial practitioner, had gone over to the missionary ("to get clothing for his large family") and given up his medicine bag to the missionary.

I hear that the missionary took the stuff in the medicine bag far away and showed it to a lot of people, and they just laughed at it and didn't think it was any good for curing sickness. If Jani wanted to give away his medicine bag, he should have given it to one of you people from the east or to the tribal council at Window Rock or to another singer, not to someone who would make fun of it. It is about four years since Jani went with the missionary, and so far he has nothing on him to show for it—no blankets, bracelets, etc. even as much as he used to have.

Early phases of missionary activity might have fitted William James' view of conversion as a "struggling away from sin rather than struggling toward righteousness" in the sense of a value system well defined and understood. But both the Christian and anti-Christian segments of the Rimrock area had now developed a positive rationale to bolster their own position relative to the missionary. Their new value positions had become explicit and fairly well delineated.

The problem of the lease on the mission property was a source of some anxiety to those connected with the mission. Reverend Banks could not drill a well to supply water for a projected shower-room for Navahos, Jim Chamiso was reluctant even to build a garage for his car because it was uncertain whether the lease could be renewed in 1951 or not. Though Margarita, the principal lessor, had been persuaded by Evelyn and Joseph to refuse renewal, the missionary thought that the land was held in joint ownership by Margarita and her sisters and that since the sisters were still mission members there was yet hope, at least for a renewal if not a sale. Margarita's son who would

inherit the land was in the Galilean Indian school near Albuquerque. Evelyn Pablo commented that the Galileans were holding him hostage for the signing of the church-land lease.

The 1950 elections, the Mormon program, a

possible war, or other such crises in community life might affect the course of events one way or another for the missionary, but barring catastrophic changes, the program had stabilized for what appeared to be a long-term operating equilibrium.

THE MORMON CHURCH AMONG THE RIMROCK NAVAHOES

PERIOD OF SETTLEMENT AND CONSOLIDATION ¹

THIS period of the history of Rimrock, roughly from its founding in 1882 until about 1946, could be divided into two phases. The first period, prior to 1900, as brought out in Telling's analysis, was one in which the proselytizing values of the Mormon settlers were paramount. The aims of the Latter Day Saints with regard to the American Indians have been explicitly developed in much of the writings of their church. The basis for their aims is briefly summarized by Talmage:

The Lamanites, while increasing in numbers, fell under the curse of divine displeasure; they became dark in skin and benighted in spirit, forgot the God of their fathers, lived a wild nomadic life, and degenerated into the fallen state in which the American Indians, their lineal descendants, were found by those who rediscovered the western continent.²

Based on this conception of the nature of the American Indians' origin as lost tribes of Israel, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has developed a set of ideal values prescribing a course of action toward them. The Tenth Article of Faith of the Church expresses the belief "in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes, that Zion will be built upon this [American] continent, that Christ will reign personally upon the earth and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory." Other Articles of Faith of the church express beliefs in freedom of religious worship and in faith as a necessity for religious experience. Mormons believed, therefore, that to destroy the faith of the Indians would violate a fundamental virtue, particularly since the Indian religion is viewed as a degenerate form of the "true" religion. As a consequence, Mormons allow Indians to practice their own ceremonial rites and even try to relate elements of the various Indian mythologies to elements of the Book of Mormon. Persuasion and voluntary change through convic-

tion are the ideal policies of Mormons toward Lamanite conversions.

Prior to 1900, the community and home-building frontier values of the Mormon settlers were clearly subordinated to their major purpose of bringing the gospel to the Lamanites. Telling describes how efforts were made in these early days to keep down potential sources of friction between Rimrockers and Indians so that the missionizing could proceed as smoothly as possible:³

[The Bishop in 1883] 'Advised the people to be careful how they treat the Lamanites, said he would not run races and play with them if we did it would surely bring trouble.' He also felt it necessary to warn 'the people not to trade with those who have come among us . . . to stay away from them and let them alone. . . .' [Later through grazing difficulties] a conflict arose from the fact that the missionary subjects were also a potential danger to the community.

But material difficulties hampered proselytizing from the very first. Although some of the early Mormon settlers at Rimrock did spend a good deal of time traveling among the local Navahos, the problem of eking out a livelihood in this semi-arid place was so urgent that much effort had to be directed toward simple survival. The important members of the L.D.S. hierarchy who came through Rimrock were always sufficiently impressed with its importance as a mission outpost to lend support to the venture; but local people were in general pessimistic about the lack of progress in converting the Lamanites.

In this earliest phase of the settlement history, several Navahos were converted. Outstanding among these was Old Headman, of the Rimrock group, the father of Mr. Moustache. Mr. Moustache's father was a close friend and companion to one of the early bishops of Rimrock, and local Mormons still feel warmly toward his family. However, my con-

¹ Telling, 1950, is a major source for material in this section.

² Talmage, 1925, p. 260.

³ Telling, 1950, p. 25 ff.

versations with Mr. Moustache in 1950 revealed that though Mr. Moustache felt this bond to exist, he had never been told anything of Mormon teachings by his father and apparently was not aware of more than the simplest rudiments of Christian belief. Old Man Cripple Knee, Pablo, and Old Lady Squinty and her husband are also mentioned as having been baptized.

The change in attitude which came about at the turn of the century was probably determined by the total pattern of Mormon settlements, morale, etc., as well as by events in Rimrock itself. Its effect, however, is clear. Telling describes this change as involving a shift in emphasis from missionizing to colonizing and "building up the place." Although the missionary aim common to all devout Mormons remained vital, it was clearly submerged and subordinated to the builder's values, and the new emphasis was to "make the desert blossom."

The second phase of Rimrock, following 1900, was one of marked changes. Competition for land increased between Rimrockers and Navahos; trading with the Navahos became a major source of income for those families who could become traders (and those families became the most prosperous in the area); missionary work became voluntary and part-time, and those members of the community who went on their recommended full-time missions were assigned elsewhere, some to such distant places as the Pacific Islands.

When Old Lady Squinty's husband and Mr. Moustache's father died, they were not treated as brethren, but were refused burial in the Mormon cemetery as "outside parties."⁴

The Rimrock files are rich in references to both aspects of this shift in emphasis: *a*) the decrease in mission-activity; *b*) the increase in land competition and other frontier-settler patterns bringing the Rimrockers into social conflict with the Indians. Typical is the following:

Thomas Mucho saw first missionary in Rimrock country 13 years ago. Saw only once. He died. Bill Begay says missionaries started coming here only four years ago—came three or four times per summer, but only in summer. Neither Bill Begay nor Thomas Mucho ever saw a Catholic missionary in this region.

⁴ Telling, 1950, p. 65; also in Rimrock files.

Thomas Mucho, his wife, and father were baptized Mormons. For a month they did without coffee. Neighbors started talking—said that they were too poor to buy coffee. Mucho started using coffee again. (CK, June 2, 1940)

The story of Rimrock growth through acquisition of land, development of irrigation, and cooperative efforts within the community is told from the Rimrock point of view by Telling and O'Dea. To the Indians, Rimrock efforts at expansion and consolidation were bewildering, painful, and hostility-provoking. Autobiographical accounts of older Navahos are full of such items as this from Marco's story:

Late in the fall I was herding some sheep and a white man came up to me. He said to me "Why are you people herding around here? You'd better go move off." That's what it seemed to me he said—I didn't understand English, but he just motioned like that. He told us to move all these Indians off. . . . When I got home I told about what this white man told me. . . . There were some other Navahos who were camped out south of us, and we heard that the white man had been around there too and told those Indians to move away too . . . so we made up our minds that we'd better move off, so we moved down to the foot of the mountain.⁵

As white patterns of land use, property delineation, and property protection grew up, difficulties of fencing, access to watering places, trespass on grazing lands, etc. increased the tensions.

Mormons do not like the Navahos. They take all the land, build fences, won't let their sheep get to water . . . the Mormons will rub your arms as if you're their friend, but they have long fingernails and will scratch you."

(R. McNair, Sept., 1944 interview with *Mucho*.)

In a conversation with a Mormon who had grown up at Rimrock during this period, and who had subsequently moved away to a large city, the following point of view was expressed to me:

The solution to the Indian problem would be to give them some decent land and let them-to-hell alone. . . . It's a damned shame that we've pushed them back into the malapais country. The land that we've pushed

⁵ Cf. Marcos' Life Story, pp. 129 ff.

them into isn't good for anything at all. If it were, we would have taken that too. When I was a kid around here I used to treat them like dirt too, just like they do around here now. I didn't know any better. Treat these guys like human beings and give them an even break and they'll be all right.

Navahos did not seem to have the power, and the Indian Service lacked the money, to stop Rimrockers from expanding at the expense of Navaho productive land. As Pedro Miguel sadly recounted his experience to me:

We just meet about the land all the time, but we didn't fix it. We just talk about it, and after a while they forget it. We just lease some land from the agent—that railroad land—and some of that state land and public domain land, and all the Navaho sheep used to run around on that land . . . and then when the company wanted to sell the land . . . we had nothing to pay on that. All those who had money, like Andrew Cox, the trader, his brother, and some of those other Mormons, they bought parts of it. In some places they bought several sections, and Navahos were still grazing inside of that. Some Indians they pushed off the land, others they fenced all around their land and the Indian allotments that were inside their sections and let the Indians keep a certain number of stock inside.

When the Galilean missionary came to Rimrock, many Navahos who were interested in learning white ways but were too hostile to Rimrockers to adopt their religion turned to the Galilean church to see what it held. The Galilean missionary quite openly preached that the Mormon religion was a false religion, looking for its salvation toward a false prophet and operating as a facade for people who were actually cheating and oppressing the Indians.

A long testimonial by Charlie Blackbird in the Galilean church gives a composite picture of his own feelings toward the Mormons of this period, expressed in the same terms as the missionary to whom his feelings were resonant:

We have been attending this church several times now. And we hear a lot about God's word. So it's very interesting, and we like to serve the Lord. That's why I came forward. I been baptized by Catholic, and about 11 years ago that's the time that the Mormons baptized me again. Now I join the Galilean church. So I been

⁶ Charlie Blackbird did not mention explicitly in his testimonial what his reason was for quitting as Mormon interpreter, but Jim Edwards asked him afterwards, and Charlie told him that he had over-

through all those different religions, but this Galilean is very interesting to me now, and I like to serve the Lord. About seven years ago that's the time I was going around with some Mormons to bring the gospel to the Navahos around Rimrock, and lot of them, they baptize by the Mormon at that time. And lot of them, they were sure interesting at that time when I was interpreting for the Mormons. Lot of them were going to the church at that time, the Mormon church. And you people know why you got away from the Mormons at that time.⁶

And I think that some of you still believe in the Mormon. It's way different the way these Galileans are praying to Jesus. And we hear from the Bible that Jesus is the son of God, and He was holy, and that he died for us, for all our sins. This is the way that the Galileans pray to Jesus. But the Mormons pray to Joseph Smith. They believe that Joseph Smith might save them. We hear that Joseph Smith had lot of trouble that time it was written out of the Mormon books . . . they did lot that they shouldn't do. Some of them had five wives, some had four wives. And I hear that Joseph Smith was going to many cities to preach about Mormons, and they chased him out of many cities, and many times he been into the prison. This is what is the story of Joseph Smith, and they are relying on Joseph Smith—all the Mormons. Is this true religion that way?

Now we see with our eyes today the house where they worship. They are doing all kinds of things—dancing, sometimes they get into fights in the church, and they have movies in their church. Is that good religion? We never hear that the Galilean church has the movies or dances in their church. It's different than the Mormons. That's why I think the Galilean is true.

And yet some of you think that the Mormons are good. What did they do to us? They took away all our lands, and we just make a wealthy town at Rimrock—from Navaho lambs and everything that they cheated us out of, we just made their town wealthy. And they pushed us up on top of the rock. Is this good? I don't think it's good. That's why I have joined this Galilean church again. So now I'm glad I have become a Christian, and I'm going to attend church every Sunday.

The years following World War II brought a general revitalization of Mormon efforts to convert and uplift the Indians, particularly of

heard some Mormons saying that they didn't like to have Navahos at their Sunday services, because the Navahos smelled bad.

the Southwest. The general wave of public concern over the plight of the Indians was taken to be a problem in which the L.D.S. churches ought to carry a major burden of responsibility, partly because of their geographic position and more especially because of their religious values.

Spencer W. Kimball, of the Council of the Twelve of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, wrote to the General Superintendent of the Navaho Service expressing the intentions of the L.D.S. church with relation to the Indians:

Our only interest is to uplift the Indian and to see him arrive to a point where he may have the same degree of economic security as his white brother, and that he may also be protected against the moral degradation to which he is subjected. We have no ulterior motives. Our hope is to uplift them and to help perfect them.

We teach all our members, white and dark, cleanliness of life, to be virtuous and pure morally, and to avoid the use of stimulants and narcotics, and to improve their talents and surroundings and conditions, and if we can only bring some of these blessings to our Indian kinsman, that will be our greatest desire.

We hope that the tribal council will see fit to grant us additional liberty to establish our work among these needy people in whom we have a double interest; because of our humanitarian inclinations and equally strong our assurance that they are the degenerate descendants of Israel. . . .

In accordance with this program, it was decided that a church would be built at Rimrock. This decision may have been taken partly because there the values of all Mormons to "improve their talents and surroundings and conditions" had contravened those other values directed toward the Indians.

THE PERIOD OF MISSION REVITALIZATION

Beginning about 1946, when it became clear that Reverend Fry and his Galilean mission were more than ineffectual transients, the Mormon mission effort at Rimrock underwent a revitalization. The activities of local part-time missions were increased, and a full-time mission team was assigned to work in the area.

The local missionaries, directed by Andrew Cox who was head of the Stake missionary board, began to conduct more frequent hogan visits and services. Marcos,⁷ the only Navaho who had remained an active member of the Mormon church at Rimrock village through the years, was elevated to the Aaronic priesthood when in September, 1946, he was ordained as a *Teacher*. Marcos had been a faithful attendant at Mormon Sunday services in Rimrock for many years, walking or riding horseback to town each week from his hogan, one of the closest to the Mormon settlement. Although he spoke practically no English, he had worked for Mormons for many years and attended their services for so long that it was generally thought he understood the teachings

of the church well enough to become an active agent among his own people. Although I was told that Marcos had spoken well and eloquently in a testimonial one Sunday at the Mormon church, I could not find anyone who could tell me what he had said.

There is some evidence that in this period of revitalization the trader, Andrew Cox, actually aided the Navaho co-op store with which his trading post was in competition. He is said to have arranged to store goods for the Navaho store until Charlie Blackbird could come for them or send to have them picked up. Also he sold goods to Charlie Blackbird cheaper than list price when Charlie had run out of them and it was impractical to make a trip to town for more. Though many Navahos were skeptical about Cox's motivation for this behavior, clearly he was making an effort to be more friendly and helpful than he had been for some time.⁸

When the full-time missionaries assigned by the central mission agencies of the L.D.S. church arrived at Rimrock, they were well re-

former Navaho cooperative store has been taken over by Andrew Cox and son.

⁷ See pp. 129 ff. for Marcos' life story.

⁸ Since the time of my second field trip in 1950, the

ceived by the local populace. They were given good quarters in Rimrock and were helped by such gestures as reduced prices at the trading post, permission to use tools and equipment of the auto shop to repair their vehicle, and numerous promises for support and help in building a church for the local Navahos. At first they had to split their activities between the nearby Salceda and the Navaho group, limiting their activities to visiting around and conducting boy-scout meetings at the Rimrock Navaho Day School. As the mission force became more stable and established, new missionaries were assigned for Salceda, and the pair at Rimrock were allowed to direct their total efforts toward converting the Navahos.

At first the team at Rimrock was very unstable with one member shifting constantly to other assignments. One got the impression that Rimrock was being used as a "breaking-in" station from which one man was continually being reassigned to a more permanent position. Apparently the only preparation of the missionaries for their work (aside from their regular religious education as devout members of the church) was a ten-day training period at Salt Lake City, where they learned such elements of missionary field procedure as first aid, appearance and procedure, Bible outline, etc. When they reported to the job they were meant to spend at least one hour together each morning in Bible study.

The missionaries at Rimrock were together constantly. This is a universal practice of Mormon full-time missionaries, designed to diminish the likelihood of anyone's starting gossip about their behavior. One of the missionaries told me that many people enjoy telling stories about preachers who misbehave, and it would be much easier to gossip about their hogan visits—often where Navaho women were alone—if one person had gone alone rather than in the company of another who could bear witness to his good conduct.

During this period of early revitalization (but still prior to the building of the new church), there were a large number of baptisms among the local Navahos. This sudden upsurge of interest can be assigned to many factors, often operating in complex combination:

a) The Mormons were now showing an in-

terest in the Indians, and those Indians who were interested in learning white ways, being friendly with the white men, could join the Mormon church without subjecting themselves to the stringent requirements of the Galilean church. The motivation in this respect is taken to be like that of Galilean converts but milder—not impelling the convert to greatly altered behavior. This kind of motivation could lead to convictions favorable to Mormon values.

b) Some were token baptisms performed to show other Navahos that if a Navaho were interested in joining some Christian church, he ought to join one that did not demand complete and immediate renunciation of his old religion. The question of *faith* is central to Mormon theology. Mormons feel that since faith is necessary for human life and happiness and since many Navahos believe in their old medicine men, it would be immoral to destroy their faith before they had a new one to replace it. This was regarded as a problem of rational illumination, and considered to be a time-consuming process. The baptism of Mr. Moustache had a large element of this.

c) It was rumored that many Navahos were being baptized simply to get such favors as an extension of credit at Andrew Cox's trading post.

d) Another type of baptism was purely instrumental, sometimes expressed as an act directed toward making the Mormons desist from their active missionizing efforts. Mr. Moustache's baptism also had an element of this:

Since I was young—the time when the Mormons started living at Rimrock, we were close to their town. And my father got baptized on the Mormon side. So these Mormons keep telling me to be baptized like my father. And I didn't want to for a long time, but it didn't hurt my father while he was alive, so I just gave up and did it. And now those Mormons don't bother me any more.

e) As in the case of the Galilean church, many baptisms were what might be called "shoppers." Troubled by sickness or the vague malaise almost ubiquitous among Rimrock Navaho, some joined to try out Mormon healing practices much as they would a new "sing." Pedro Blackbird, who was known in 1950 as

strongly interested in the Mormon church, told me that he had joined to see how their cures worked and now that he found that members of the church got sick, much as non-members, he intended to quit.

f) Personal attachments to particular Mormons and a long history of close Mormon association with particular Navaho families served as contributing factors in some cases, e.g., Roy Mucho.

When the new church was built in 1949 within sight of the Galilean mission and about a quarter-mile nearer to Rimrock, many more Navahos came because of its greater accessibility. Though the permanent mission team was still not stabilized at the time of my second visit in 1950, the general activity was considerably increased. Andrew Cox and others from Rimrock filled in when the outside missionaries were away. Cox's pickup could be seen on Sundays collecting Navaho families, particularly the close-by Mario family, to bring them to Mormon services at their new church.

Operating on a personal budget rather than a church budget, the full time Mormon missionaries depended on local support to carry through their program. The Mormon community at Rimrock supported them as indicated above, and they attempted to win Navaho support by "pitching in and working alongside the Navahos in their fields," to show that they hadn't come to exploit them but to take them into the church as brothers. They depended on voluntary interpreting of services by converts who commanded both languages.

By the end of my second visit they had not yet proceeded very far into what might be compared with phase two of the Galilean mission. They had established their plant; made their acquaintance with the area and its people so that it was known who they were and what their general intentions were; but not even the most visibly interested Navahos had a very clear idea of their theology.

Mrs. Mario, for example, who would be named by whites and Navahos alike in the area as a strong Mormon convert, relates her experience with the church as follows:

They told them [the old people] that the Mormons and our own religion are the same and that we don't have to stop our own religion. We can just con-

tinue. . . . After my daddy was baptized, all the Mormons began to come here even before I was baptized, . . . and they used to talk to these children, and I guess they got interested in the way the Mormons talked to them . . . no lying, no drinking, stay out of trouble. . . . Audrey joined first. She used to go to the Galilean Church, but her grandfather told her not to go over there, but if she wanted to be a Mormon, it's all right. . . . Dorothy said that the Mormons were different, though their songs sound the same, because the Galileans cry too much . . . finally I joined, too, and now I get letters from people I don't know—even from Salt Lake City or somewhere near there.

The reason I believe in Mormons is because once when I was having a sing there, Andrew Cox came over with another Mormon, and they prayed for me and sang a song for me and they didn't say anything about the medicine man. And then they asked if they should pray for me again, and I said next time they came . . . and they didn't think that the medicine man shouldn't be here. I like the way the Mormons explain things to me. They told us that we should all stay out of trouble, and that everyone should join the Mormon church. . . . I haven't learned anything yet—just how to sing two songs in our own language. They don't have any interpreters, and I'm not educated, so I can't understand it. There used to be two boys who lived over near the Day School, and they used to come around, but they couldn't speak Navaho, so I couldn't understand when they explained—so they just sang songs.

My questioning about the Mormon church and her interest in it aroused a small amount of anxiety in Mrs. Mario, whose family had always been very friendly with anthropologists. She asked whether I was asking because I didn't approve of her belonging to the church. I explained that we never tried to tell the people what to do in matters relating to their own lives; the only reason I asked was to try to understand what kind of new things she was learning and doing now that she was a Mormon. Her fear of alienating her white friends, either Mormons or anthropologists, was brought out when she told me, while serving tea (rather than coffee which, she explained, was a more harmful stimulant), that she had never liked coffee much and had been drinking tea for years. This assertion finds no support in the observations of those who have known her family intimately for many years.

Marcos, the staunchest Mormon among the Rimrock Navahos, the only one of them who had been ordained in the Mormon priesthood,

underwent an interesting change of attitude when the locus of Navaho church attendance was shifted from the town of Rimrock (where fewer Navahos could come, but where those who did sat with the whites) to the new Navaho church at the Day School. At first he suffered a return of a malaise which he had not experienced for some time—acute headaches. He attributed these headaches to his having failed to complete a ceremonial series for his previous sickness. His story can be told in his own words:

I don't remember when I started—about 10–15 years ago. I never knew anything about it—about Sunday. Later I found out that these whites just worked six days, and then they didn't work the seventh day, that was the way I found out. When I didn't know about that I just kept on working—even on Sunday. So I found out that way, and that they go to church too, so I felt I wanted to go to church too. Well, I didn't understand what they were talking about, but I just kept on going and watching that was all. I didn't understand English, but some of the Mormons there knew a little Navaho, and they told me a little about it—a few words.

They just taught me about how to have a good home and how to farm, how to raise the livestock. And they told me not to do anything that was wrong things. And just to be good, and that was the only thing they told me. These were the only things I understood about what they were talking about. After a while they told me that there were a lot of Navahos who had become Mormons—but they never came to church. Lot of them became baptized, but they just forgot about it, and they never came to church. . . .

(Do you go to church now at the new Mormon church for the Navahos?) I haven't been going for a long time because I've been sick with these headaches . . . just haven't felt like it. Maybe I'm going to quit. Before, when they had the church at Rimrock, I used to be able to go over there on foot every Sunday. Now it's too far to be able to walk over to that church they've built for the Navahos. Some Navahos go over there for a feast or something like that, then they keep coming back for a few Sundays; but as soon as they hear about what they have to do—that they have to give up a lot of things; smoking, drinking, and all those bad things—they just drop out and quit. It looks like I'm going to be all alone over there—the only one who stays, so I guess I'll just quit too.

Whether Marcos and others like him develop a stable association with the new Mormon church depends in part on how the Mor-

mon program is developed. At the time of my last visit, the church had been built, but services were sporadic, conducted by local people, and not well understood. No full-time staff was present, and no dependable system of interpreting had been arranged. Fall of 1950 promised to bring a dedication of the church, an assignment of a full-time staff to pursue its purposes, and the inauguration of a program of sustained teaching, something comparable to phase two of the Galilean church. The effects of this program will offer fruitful comparisons with the background set forth above, and with the comparable efforts of the other mission.

It would be misleading to close this chapter on the development of the Mormon proselytizing effort at Rimrock on a note of pessimism. Though Marcos thought of quitting and Jose Blackbird became disillusioned in the efficacy of Mormon worship as a curing rite, there is a certain quality of the Mormon mission which leads one to pose the possibility of a more successful outcome.

The Mormon missionary activities at Rimrock represent a periodic vacillation between the emphasis on missionary values and the values of the pioneer home-builder. It was difficult in the period of home-building for Rimrockers to pursue their values of friendship and shared expectations with the Indians, for their secular activities belied their preachings. With the recent renewal of emphasis on mission work, two new elements were added to the situation: (a) outside missionaries, not associated with local competitive problems, and (b) funds from the central church allowing a chapel for the Navaho to be built.

The Mormon values of "building up the place" and accumulating material "hard" goods agree with Navaho values, if the Navahos could view them as detached from the local scene. The special Mormon message of brotherhood and morality has a particular appeal in these times as the concluding analysis will point out. Full-time missionaries from outside do not view themselves, or the Mormons in general, as a major part of the situation which has caused Indian hostility toward whites. Their preaching is free of the guilt which may dampen the sincerity and enthusiasm of local missionaries.

In a recent letter to me, a former full-time

missionary to Rimrock answered a question about why some Navahos resist conversion as follows:

As I see it there are several reasons. The treaty that was made with these people about the year 1866, wherein the Indian was promised schools, roads, hospitals, and other things, was broken. The sexual sin, liquors, and other vice that the white man has caused so many of the Indian people to partake of . . . have caused a great many Indians to hate the white man and after hating the white man for these things they say they do not want to become like the white man . . . so do you blame some of the Indians for not wanting to become like us white men? After the breaking of treaties, dishonesty, and immorality that some of the white people practice, it is a wonder that some of the people have progressed as far as they have. Those living in and around Rimrock have not been affected by the white man as much as those living on other parts of the Reservation.

The more altruistic values of the Mormon missions to the Lamanites are strongly expressed in his next paragraph:

Upon realizing the above mentioned conditions, I felt it necessary to try and persuade the people to try and overcome their dislike for their fellow men and to try to impress upon them that the true gospel of Jesus Christ is love and not hate and envy. And in the next life we will be rewarded for what we do and not for what the other fellow does. And that we should overlook other's faults and try to overcome our own and to make ourselves better at the same time trying to help others to see and overcome their wrongs. In that way we would all become as a big happy family. . . .

To make themselves better and at the same time to help the other fellow; here is the core of Rimrock Mormon history. In the earliest stage the emphasis was on helping the other, the Lamanite. In the period between 1900 and 1946, it was making themselves better. By sending in people whose full-time task it was to help the others, the church made a step in the direction of resolving the antithesis.

The outcome of their efforts will depend on several factors. The Rimrockers, if not somehow restrained, would doubtless continue their land expansion. A letter to me dated March 1951 from Charles Yazzi states:

In this Rimrock area we Navaho have trouble with the Rimrock Mormon people as before. They said yesterday that they were going to round up the Indians' horses that are on their lands. I told them 'the horses won't take (?) to you, why don't you just round up the Indians?' They just got mad at me. . . .

However, the land situation may conceivably be stabilized to the Indians' advantage, and some of the hostility toward the Mormons allowed to subside. This will be made possible, if at all, through governmental aid. Then there is a good likelihood that the Mormon mission, operating in its own chapel and run by outside missionaries, will have a certain success. The kind of success and the individuals to whom the Mormon church appealed would probably be different from the converts of the Galilean church. These factors will be analyzed in detail in the concluding chapter.

VALUE COMPARISONS

HAVING traced the broad outlines of the activities of two specific missionary programs among a particular Navaho local group, I should like to describe some of the forces operative on the level of cultural values. I can begin this by pointing out broad patterns of value similarities and differences between traditional Navaho culture and the culture of Christian missions. Since this report is one dealing primarily with particular empirical findings and since the abstract comparison of the broader aspects of the cultures at hand is be-

yond my scope, I shall point out only certain gross, rather well-established elements. In sketching these gross dimensions, I shall divide the discussion into two major sections: the first dealing with Navaho value patterns operating to the detriment of Christian missions, the second dealing with Navaho value patterns contributing to the success of the missions. In each case I shall point out the major Navaho-Christian contrasts and then the minor variations relevant to the particular cases of Galian and Mormon missions.

FACTORS OPERATING TO THE DETRIMENT OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO NAVAHO¹

If one examines the traditional culture of the Navahos for beliefs and values incompatible with those held by Christian proponents, there is no dearth of material to explain the long history of indifference of conventionally enculturated Navahos toward the activities of the missionaries. In the discussion that follows, it must be understood that the incompatible factors indicated exist *for individuals* only in the extent to which they are aware of and positively oriented toward the conventional Navaho value system. The conventional Navaho value system is an abstraction derived from the activities of Navahos who have changed their life-ways relatively little through contact with whites.

The contrasting elements of the two cultures can be discussed in relation to three interrelated areas of Navaho cultural orientation: values relevant to power and health, values relevant to family and social relationships, and values relevant to self-expression.

POWER AND HEALTH

Power and health are closely interrelated in conventional Navaho thought concerning the nature of the universe and man's place in it. In Kluckhohn's systematic delineation of certain of the Navaho cultural premises, he indicates the nature of this connectedness:

¹ In this section I have been greatly aided by the work of Robert McNair (1948) and Katherine Spen-

The Universe is orderly: all events are caused and interrelated.

- a) Knowledge is power.
- b) The basic quest is for harmony.
- c) Harmony can be restored by orderly procedures.
- d) One price of disorder, in human terms, is illness.²

Concept for concept the Navaho and Christian ideas as to the nature of the universe and its supernatural characteristics are sharply at variance. To compare some the basic ones:

The Creation. In Christian thought the Creation was an act of an almighty deity, wrought in perfection and only later marred by the irresponsible conduct of man. The Christian notion, "and God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was good . . . and on the seventh day God ended his work which He had made," is completely foreign to Navaho notions of creation. Creation, in Navaho mythology, is expressed as a continuous process rather than as a single act. Even in contemporary ceremonial practice, a kind of creation is thought to be taking place through the restoration of harmony in a world that has felt discord.

The Supernaturals. In Navaho thought supernaturals are not ranged in a hierarchy, and there is certainly nothing to correspond to the

cer (1947, and personal communications).

² Kluckhohn, 1949b, p. 360.

masculine, omnipotent, omniscient, high God of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. While the Christian supernaturals represent a personification in God and Satan of absolute Good and absolute Evil, the duality of Navaho supernaturals is quite different. Their quality of good and evil is not absolute, and through techniques of control learned in the mythological tradition, man may turn evil supernaturals to good. To cite a text of Matthews on this point:

Had you grown up here you would have lived only to be things of evil and to destroy men; but now I shall make use of you to my kind in the days to come when men increase on the earth. . . . You will ever speak to men and tell them of the approach of enemies. . . . It will be your task to make things beautiful, to make the earth happy.³

Navaho supernaturals, in general, behave as man does; they are of both sexes, different ages and character dispositions. They are not in complete charge of the universe and do not pretend to know the ultimate answers. The world is more powerful than any of the supernaturals, and techniques for dealing with it must be worked out in cooperation. The conception of strength-weakness in the characters of the supernaturals is more pervasive than that of good-evil. With the exception of Changing Woman, who is consistently well-wishing toward Earth Surface People,⁴ and the primeval monsters that had to be killed because they were a serious threat to life and thus evil,⁵ all deities possess good and evil elements.

The whole of the chant mythology might be regarded as an account of how supernaturals obtained knowledge and thus power, and how they communicated this to the Navahos for their use.⁶

The Resurrection. The Christian belief in the Resurrection is outstandingly at odds with Navaho dispositions. Reichard's statement is pertinent to this point:

Whatever the denomination bent on conversion, the Resurrection would surely be agreed on as a fundamental dogma. What does it involve? A belief . . .

that one individual, god-man, could endure the punishment for all mankind; a conviction that a man, having died, may live again and appear to his survivors. The last, the greatest achievement of Christianity, is positively abhorrent to Navaho psychology.⁷

The Afterlife. This Christian notion, while varying in detail from denomination to denomination, is a core element. Wyman, Hill, and Osanai (1942) have explored Navaho eschatological beliefs with systematic care. Their findings supplement the work of other scholars of the Navaho culture in revealing the essential indifference of conventional Navahos toward spectacular ideas of another life after the present one.

McNair speculates on the nature of this attitude in Navaho thought:

. . . there is a great difference in Navaho and Christian thought; the Christian imagines perfection prior to the fall in the Garden of Eden, and the evil of the world to be a thing that was introduced because of the "sin" of Eve; the Navaho imagines the supernatural world to be a thing of danger and evil, and the supernaturals changed the evils of the world into good for man's use. The Navaho therefore looks to this world for good, the Christian must look either to the past or to the future.⁸

One might continue to cite differences, element by element in the cosmological and cosmogonical value positions of the Christian and Navaho cultures. In almost every case marked differences in conception could be noted, and in a great many cases no equivalent elemental counterpart exists in one system for a concept important in the other culture. More important than these elemental non-equivalences in the two patterns is the basic difference in underlying premises concerning the character of man, the universe in which he lives, and the nature of ultimate human ideals. The Navahos, with their perpetual quest for harmony in a world beset with potentially disruptive forces, use, of course, traditional principles in ordering the experiences perceived by their senses. But their traditions allow for greater pragmatism, less dichotomous conceptual differentiation,

³ Matthews, 1897, pp. 23-24.

⁴ Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 125.

⁵ And even here, as McNair and others note, the monsters were not, theoretically, evil in any absolute sense, and they are not "devils" in the sense that the word conveys to Christians.

⁶ For evidence regarding this point cf. McNair, 1948; Haile, *passim*; Reichard, 1939, p. 71; Matthews, *passim*.

⁷ Reichard, 1949, p. 67.

⁸ McNair, 1948, p. 92-93.

and a greater emphasis on action than do Christian religious orientations. Religion for Christians is first a matter of faith and belief; for Navahos the emphasis is on ritual activity. But as McNair observes:

The list of what is proper traditional behavior, if abstracted in detail from the mythology, would not be too different from the laws in the Book of Leviticus. There are rules in the mythology that apply to practically every specific act of life—from the way one should sit, plant a cornfield, build a hogan, to the ultimate details of behavior with relatives and ceremonial procedures. . . . From the point of view of the detached observer, the Navaho has many more religious rules than does the Christian, but his rules are relative to the situation rather than absolute.⁹

Kluckhohn has commented that up to a point the Navaho may be identified as a "primitive mechanist," and that many of the teleological themes to be found in current Navaho thought can be traced to white influence. The casual sequences felt to hold in Navaho interpretation of world process are less a matter of the working through of a divine plan by a supernatural concerned with absolute good or absolute evil than an inevitable causal chain in which events flow out of prior events. Once an episode has occurred, even the divinities responsible for bringing it about are thenceforth bound by its consequences.

FAMILY AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

In a broad sense the society of the Navahos is one based much more on functioning familial units than that of contemporary Christian missionaries. Marriage is a matter of family and clan concern;¹⁰ property ownership, usage, and inheritance obligations extend beyond the concern of individuals;¹¹ and the ritual life which occupies so much of the time of conventional, adult Navahos must be carried out through intricate patterns of exchanges among familiarly inter-connected persons. While Navahos are in some senses individualistic, their individualism is achieved and expressed in a familial matrix. Kluckhohn expresses this orientation as a premise of Navaho culture that is based upon a concept of "familistic individualism" and states that

. . . the Navaho insists that family life is the hub of interpersonal relations. He does not consider himself primarily as a member of a local community, nor his tribe—let alone of the United States or an international brotherhood. His conception of the ideal society is that of a stable equilibrium between various groups of related persons. One's first loyalty is neither to oneself nor to society in the abstract but rather, in attenuating degrees as one moves outward in the circle of kin, to one's biological and clan relatives.¹²

The immediate family in traditional Navaho culture contained a system of delicate balances of rights and obligations with the women's role one of relatively high prestige. Women bore in their line the clan identification; they owned property, influenced family decisions, participated in religious rituals, and enjoyed a charter for their rich participation in group life through the mythological precedents of such prominent deities as Changing Woman. Residence was predominantly matrilineal, and a woman usually enjoyed the security of keeping her daughters and grandchildren around her until death.

In the extent to which the extended familial system functioned conventionally, women also were sustained in their security by checks on their husbands' power. The wife's clansmen and relatives exercised an interest in her welfare.¹³

In Navaho family life, the acceptance and practice of polygyny is abhorrent to monogamous Christians whose Old Testament 7th Commandment sets a negative sanction on the practice.

While the conventional Navaho views adultery as bad, he considers it bad in a different sense than the Christian. He avoids it because it is a property violation and likely to bring disruptive and dangerous social consequences.

The ideal behavior of a Navaho who relates himself to the rest of his society is to "act as if everybody were related" to him,¹⁴ and the actual channels through which he integrates himself with the larger group are kinship channels. The pervasiveness and intensity with which the "web of kinship" regulates the behavior of individual Navahos is sharply in contrast to Protestant intensification of interest focused on individual destiny.

⁹ McNair, 1948, p. 223.

¹⁰ Cf. Reichard, 1928, p. 30.

¹¹ Kluckhohn, 1949b, p. 380 ff.

¹² Kluckhohn, 1949b, p. 367.

¹³ Franciscan Fathers, 1910, p. 449.

¹⁴ Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 54.

The modes in which moral conduct with relation to the social group are controlled are sharply different in emphasis for Navaho and Christian communities. The Christian conception, based on the idea of man's intrinsic guilt and the conception of an afterlife of supernatural reward or punishment, serves as a basis for the characteristic guilt-mechanisms of social control. The Navahos, lacking the notion of original sin and of a Judgment whereby the guilty are assigned to an afterlife in a separate place called Hell, enforce their rules of behavior predominantly through the use of shame and the "dangerous" rather than by conscience. There is no incentive to behave properly because of one's fate in an afterlife, and much the greater emphasis is placed on behaving in the traditional ways so as to avoid public ridicule and the possibility of disrupting the harmony of life.

SELF-EXPRESSION

For a Navaho individual, self-expression is much less a matter of "distinguishing oneself" from the group than is the case in Protestant thought. Human values that tend to set individuals apart from community activity and from channels for self-expression through conventional modes are looked upon with disfavor by Navahos. Self-expression is this-worldly and contains no rationale for self-deprivation of pleasure simply because it is physically enjoyable. The "perfection of personality" is not thought to be a desirable end; indeed, this Christian idea is not present as a separate concept at all, for moral behavior is not performed for the sake of "storing up treasures" in Heaven. One continually presses one's behavior in the direction of preserving *present* harmony and perpetuating life.

Three spheres of activity might be discussed to bring out the contrasts between Navaho and Christian values in the area of self-assertion or self-expression; sex, leadership, and the accumulation of wealth.

Sex. While the attitudes on sex-expression vary greatly within the spectrum of Christian denominations and even between the two sects here considered, Navaho basic premises con-

tain nothing resembling the notion that "the apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin."¹⁵ To Navahos "sex is natural, necessary, and no more or less concerned with morals than is eating."¹⁶ When morals are discussed abroad in Christian society, most frequently sexual morals are in focus. And yet the connotations of uncleanness surrounding the topic of sex make many Christians shy away from public discussion and education on the subject. To Navahos sex is not only not regarded as dirty or evil *per se*, but is not even commonly abstracted, properly speaking, as a special topic for concern. Flora Bailey, in questioning 25 Navaho informants in the Rimrock area, found that only one expressed the belief that sexual education was unnecessary, and this informant was one who had been educated in a Protestant mission school and stated: "They don't tell girls anything before they are married because it is too dirty to talk about."¹⁷

Leadership. Leadership values in Western Christian thought are also complex and various. Conventional Navahos, however, universally avoid the types of leadership rather pervasively valued in Western society in which strong, decisive, energetic individuals actively formulate and carry through action plans for the group. Kluckhohn comments:

... To the Navaho it is fundamentally indecent for a single individual to presume to make decisions for a group. Leadership, to them, does not mean "outstandingness." Each individual is controlled not by sanctions from the top of a hierarchy of persons but by lateral sanctions. Decisions at meetings must be unanimous.¹⁸

When an individual among the Navahos sets forth a powerful program for widespread change, his response is uneasiness and distrust on the part of the group. Any changes, to be acceptable to conventional Navahos, must be formulated in terms of traditional values and must be arrived at and implemented through extensive and detailed community participation. It might be predicted that any missionary tactics that sought to bring about change to white ways through the instrumentality of strong individual leadership would be fraught with difficulties.

¹⁵ Cited by McNair, 1948, p. 116, from the 1929 *Book of Common Prayer*, Articles of Belief, Article IX.

¹⁶ Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 234.

¹⁷ Bailey, 1950, p. 13.

¹⁸ Kluckhohn, 1949b, p. 376.

Accumulation of Wealth. The value area surrounding the accumulation of wealth is one in which the Navahos and some churches in the "protestant ethic" find a degree of concurrence. Navahos lack, however, notions of the desirability of outstanding "success," of the intrinsic worth of hard work for its own sake, or that economic well-being is due to individual competence; it is rather a matter of familial cooperation and sharing. Yet wealth enters the value picture in a rather complex way. Navahos work hard for productivity and security and try to improve their material conditions. Industry is valued to overcome poverty, hunger, and cold which are natural conditions of existence. There is no acceptance of the idea that "blessed are the poor"; nor should an individual so exceed others in his accumulation that he becomes a potentially disruptive element in the harmony of the local group. In the latter case suspicions of malevolent motivation surge to the surface, and one is apt to find accusations of witchcraft.

The findings reviewed in the next chapter seem superficially to contradict those analyses that attribute to poverty a force powerfully predisposing to conversion.¹⁹ Actually, if the term poverty is interpreted in its broadest sense to include non-material sources of wealth, the Navaho situation becomes more consistent with the findings in other cultures.

Navaho life allowed, even encouraged, an individual to seek prestige through control of supernatural skills as well as through accumulation of wealth in the more material sense. Most ceremonial practitioners were not wealthy, and non-ceremonial practitioners who were able to accumulate economic fortunes, while they were often conservative, were not usually trained in ceremonial knowledge. The fact that choice of the economic route to power and prestige usually entailed a deficiency in ceremonial values contributed to the susceptibility of rich Navahos to conversion. Inadequacies of family heads were brought out more cogently if the family were in an "outfit" that was wealthy because of the strength of a now-deceased leader. Psychologi-

cally this situation is a Navaho counterpart of our downward mobility.

The above instances seem to bear out the conclusion that the conventional Navaho sought and achieved his self-expression by bending his energies toward preserving harmony in conventional family and group-oriented behavior patterns.²⁰

The idea of fulfillment of this quest for self-expression through resonance in a traditionally defined harmonious world is expressed in the concepts *sá'á na·yái* and *bik'e xójó'n*. The translation of these two terms which go together in Navaho ceremonials and are highly abstract conceptions has been extensively discussed in the literature of Navaho specialists.²¹ These terms constitute a climax, something of a benediction, for many prayers and songs. They are terms denoting a synthesis of many ideal Navaho conceptions of sacred value, in a sense *the* synthesis of Navaho sacred values. Translations have been varied. Reichard emphasizes the fact that it is remote from any conception contained in Christianity and is therefore untranslatable in words that bear the sacred connotations of Western religious terms. In her zeal to express the scope of syntheses embraced by the terms, Reichard states:

Since *sá'á na·yái* . . . includes everything, we may expect to find it expressed by various symbols. . . . The explanation of Father Berard's informant is an attempt at personification; that of Goddard's seems to be of persons. As concepts the two phrases are projection into the future, since characters such as First Man and First Woman and others belong to the past.²²

I would suggest that the terms are neither esoteric terms having meaning known only to ceremonial practitioners,²³ nor terms synthesizing any generally definable body of concepts and values. Rather, it is proposed that the concepts suggest a sense of culmination (in terms of harmony, old age, beauty, etc.) of Navaho values, *whatever they may be* at that point in time and to that group of people. Navaho values are different by locality, degree of acculturation of the group, and other sub-tribal variations. The specific examples given to

¹⁹ Niebuhr, 1929; Boisen, 1939.

²⁰ Cf. Reichard, 1950, pp. XXV ff.

²¹ Reichard, 1950, pp. 44 ff; Haile, 1943, pp. 30-31;

Haile, 1947, p. 20; McNair, 1948, p. 188, are examples.

²² Reichard, 1950, p. 48.

²³ Cf. McNair, 1948, p. 188.

Reichard, Haile, and to me by Charles Yazı (cf. pp. 109 ff.) represent conventionalized attempts by ceremonial practitioners at exegesis. Each practitioner, when expounding the power and worth of his ceremonial knowledge, concretizes the abstract conceptions that present to him the nature and scope of his strength. Having different ceremonial sources of power as well as different experiences with the elements of nature that seem so closely bound up with the kind of phenomena apprehended, the practitioners in discussion bring forth the kinds of illustrations remembered by Charles Yazı and those recorded by others.²⁴

The topics which have been set forth in this section deal with only a few of the basic patterns of thought which contribute to the massive substructure of conventional Navaho sacred logics; it is upon this substructure that the meanings comprehended by Navahos for *sá'ą na-yáí* and *bik'e xójón* are built, and to the extent that a Navaho is attuned to his own conventional modes, he will fail to find correspondences for them in Christian logics.

THE GALILEAN CHURCH AS A SPECIAL CASE

The Galilean missionary represented, for most points of the analysis of factors operating to the detriment of Christian missions, an *a fortiori* case. Galilean fundamentalism and evangelical urgency impelled toward an attitude of categorical rejection of native custom. Kluckhohn and Leighton noted this characteristic for many similar mission groups (also described above as having characteristics more typical of modal Christian missions in the 19th century):

The difficulties that have arisen from missionary activities appear to have stemmed largely from their efforts to suppress native custom or to urge strenuously the substitution of white customs, oftentimes in spheres which seem to the Navahos outside the province of the missionaries. This policy has engendered resistance among The People, and even ridicule.²⁵

The Galilean missionary insisted that native ceremonial practice was in fundamental con-

tradiction to Christian moral values. His insistence upon forcing this as a moral issue was distasteful to the community as a whole, though the minority who felt tribal "self-hate" found the attitude congenial. Ceremonial practitioners, at first relatively indifferent to the missionary's activities, became increasingly incensed when he began to "talk against them." The use of the term "Devil's business" by the missionary for the activities of Navaho singers was especially repugnant. They knew that their singing was directed toward gaining power over malevolent forces, "devils";²⁶ if they were aiding devils, how could they have effected so many cures?

The missionary's emphasis on the expense of native ceremonials, the fragmentary understanding among the Navaho people of their own mythic contents, and the unreliability of the oral tradition contrasted with the supposedly immutable written tradition impelled the strongest of the singers to attempt a revitalization of their old ways. Singers sought to counteract women's expressions of deprivation-feelings relative to ceremonials by urging them to participate more actively. Attempts were made to enforce order at ceremonials, to discipline young people who were being disruptive on such occasions making it dangerous to attend. Bill Begay urged me to discuss with anthropologists back east the possibility of keeping an expert in Navaho ceremonial lore among the People to teach them their own ritual ways. Mr. Moustache spoke of building a special, large, new hogan to teach young people their religious ways more cheaply than had been the practice. Those who still felt a good measure of respect for their own people and ways became repelled by the talk of the Galilean missionary who hated their traditions.

In the area of family and social relationships, the most outstanding conflict between an adamant value position of the Galilean missionary and the customary local practices was the case of polygynous marriage. Though federal and tribal rulings in addition to the Lord's Seventh Commandment forbid polygynous marriages,

²⁴ I am grateful to Prof. Morris Opler for discussing with me how such concepts find expression in other cultures, e.g., the related Apache groups.

²⁵ Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, pp. 81-82.

²⁶ Cf. Appendix A.

the general policy of law enforcement officials is to avoid the disruptive consequences of a too-rapid insistence on compliance. For the missionary whose sense of urgently impending judgment compelled a stronger position, each day of polygynous marriage was sinful and might preclude the possibility of salvation for the participants. Several strong supporters of the mission, when forced to choose between repudiating their perceived familial obligations and giving up the church, chose the latter.

In the area of self-expression, the puristic bent of Galilean missions prompted attitudes toward sex that were extremely antithetical to Navaho conceptions in the ways described above. These attitudes were reflected in numerous prescriptions as to moral behavior; movies, dancing, places of amusement, etc. were all taboo as leading toward possible temptation. One of the bases for the missionary's proclaimed opposition to participation in native ceremonials was the fact that they were held at night and provided a setting for sexual promiscuity.

The urgency of his program for rapid and fundamental social change had as a correlated element a concept of high valuation of strong, energetic, and decisive leadership. Jim Chamiso, the missionary's Navaho strong man, was accepted by those who sought through the mission to achieve rapid change in the direction of white culture. Most Navahos, however, were made sufficiently uneasy and distrustful at Chamiso's action policies to reject the positive benefits which his participation in community affairs would bring.

The missionary's attitude toward wealth involved the concept of present self-denial in order to achieve salvation in a Heavenly Kingdom. This alien notion often prompted expressions of suspicion and hostility toward him by conventionally oriented Navahos.

Frank Miguelito, for example, told Dr. Vogt:

I think he (the missionary) lie. Just making easy money. He says no silver on clothes, but he got a car, and he got silver on that car. And he says don't like that "squaw dance" any place. He like Navaho rugs and rabbit feet, and he sells them a long way off in El Paso. And he got money. He like the money, but he says you don't need money. When you got ten dollars, then give one dollar to the poor man.

The implication of duplicity on the part of the missionary was inevitable in terms of Navaho values. When the missionary accused the medicine men of "skinning the people," he was accused in return of taking their money in his collection boxes and taking jewelry and valuables for his own use. It was commented by anti-Galilean Navahos that church members seemed to be getting poorer and poorer rather than better off; and unconverted relatives of converts complained of the negligence of their Christian kin when church attendance took them away from their work tasks.

THE MORMONS AS A SPECIAL CASE

Many of the differences between Mormon sacred values and those of the generalized Christian type described above make for a greater resemblance to Navaho values if not for greater proselytizing success. The fundamental factor operating to the detriment of Mormon missions to the Rimrock Navahos is a situational characteristic that promotes a contradiction between their proclaimed missionizing values and their lay practices. Mormon missionaries who came from elsewhere found that the presence of their co-religionists in the town of Rimrock was a "mixed blessing." They were aided materially and through a sense of community support and belonging by having the Mormon village at Rimrock, but the pursuit by local Mormons of their values aimed at "building up the place" put them into sharp economic competition with the Navahos. The poverty of the area meant that expansion of one group was, perforce, accomplished at the expense of the other. The stereotype of Mormons held by most local Navahos was dominated by experiences leading to the inference that they were liars who "skinned the People" by talking brotherhood while taking advantage of them. In times of stressful inter-group relationships, such as the recent purchase by the Rimrockers of large tracts of land in the Navaho area, Navaho antagonism toward Mormons probably contributed to the success of the competing Galilean church. Where such traumas affected the lives of individuals, peripheral members of one church often shifted adherence to the other as frustrations directed.

In a more subtle sense, the Mormon lack of apocalyptic compulsion and urgency is a factor contributing to the short-run failure of the Mormon mission. In the long run and under conditions of moderate rate of social change this characteristic of Mormons might be counted as one for more stable and extensive success. But for those Navahos feeling the impelling need-dispositions described above, the

Galilean church would be more attractive and thus when viewed situationally in the short run would contribute to the failure of the competing Mormon group. Mormons do not emphasize anxiety and guilt or the "self-hate" attitude as much as do Galileans, and so would not be as likely an expressive vehicle for those suffering this onus.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE SUCCESS OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO NAVAHO

The comparison of value patterns recounted in the preceding sections would allow a social analyst to predict what early missionaries to the Navahos actually experienced. In W. W. Hill's words, "there was simply no meeting of minds" when orthodox well-adjusted Navahos listened to the gospel preaching of Christian missionaries. While elements of belief and value in either system could be shown to resemble similar elements in the other, these resemblances were superficial, fragmentary, and lacking in the kind of motive-potential necessary to bring about numerous marked conversions. The few converts of whom missionaries felt reasonably certain were probably deviants and unusual cases, a certain number of which must exist in any society.

What, then, were the factors producing the marked conversion experiences among Rimrock Galileans and the adherence of a sufficiently large number of members to allow the church to function as a relatively successful white-sponsored institution among the Navahos?

As extensive inroads are made into the patterned sub-structures of Navaho culture, the equilibrium of group life becomes disrupted. Native life becomes "an ugly patchwork of meaningless and unrelated pieces instead of a patterned mosaic."²⁷

The dynamics which accompanied the marked value changes described in this paper will be brought out more clearly in the concluding chapter. The elements to be listed here as contributing to the success of the mission are of two types: those perceived as relevant by Navaho informants and those perceived as

relevant to me as observer. Many of the former appraisals would have found little currency in times of comparative euphoria in the group and, more particularly, in times when better command of Navaho sacred logics was more universally held. The latter type of observations are, of course, subject to factors controlling the sociology of knowledge.

The three interest areas of health and power, family and social relationships, and self-expression will again serve as broad grouping categories.

POWER AND HEALTH

It has been noted that the world is, in its essential nature, for Navahos a dangerous and fearful thing. It is only through ritual knowledge that the kinds of strength can be gained to restore the harmony necessary for carrying on life. Navahos have borrowed patterns of ceremonial practice from many groups throughout their history. While there probably never has been anything in Navaho culture to approximate the symmetry and equilibrium sometimes constructed by scholars in their composite abstractions of the "ethnological present," it is also likely that there never has been a period in Navaho history in which such stressful and disintegrating circumstances have pressed at every hand. In discussing the ritual life of Navahos, Reichard notes that

It is quite possible that Navaho belief does not accept power unless it be exceptional. Man has powers of his own, but in Navaho thought these alone cannot suffice for his earthly struggle. He must attract to himself the powers of other beings.²⁸

²⁷ Kluckhohn, 1949b, p. 377.

²⁸ Reichard, 1939, pp. 74-75.

As a breakdown in mechanisms for perpetuation of ceremonial knowledge occurs (through fragmentation of kin groups and through competing value alternatives) and as the reality situation of Navahos becomes more complex (through exercise of white power; legal, economic, etc.), even the powers of Navahos' conventional "other beings" become inadequate. One might hypothesize an inverse relationship between Navaho acceptance of alien modes of dealing with supernatural power and Navaho adequacy in restoring harmony in the universe. In attempting to preserve a kind of supernatural balance of powers, the Navaho turns his interest to absorbing non-traditional techniques.

Identification with white power through membership in a white religious organization provided for some a means of bringing their universe back into tolerable harmony. As white schools took away Navaho youth during the periods in which they might have learned their ceremonial knowledge and as competing values absorbed the interests of many who would have been the human depositories of the precious but ephemeral oral tradition, knowledge deteriorated in quantity and in reliability. The Bible provided a source of religious authority which was supposedly immutable and universally accepted in a world which was becoming fragmented, unintelligible, and uncontrollable.

Navahos whose need-dispositions impelled them toward Christianity and whose social matrices allowed their participation found in Christology a system of logics to explain their origin and circumstances. Though the staunchest converts, those who felt the strongest tribal "self-hate," were satisfied to reject the Navaho system and accept the Christian one as a more or less complete "package," many of the less staunch converts sought correspondences between the two systems as though to convince themselves that by taking on Christian ideologies they were actually clarifying their now vague and fragmented traditional religious knowledge. Thus the former group often

tended to emphasize the differences between the two religious systems, while the latter tended to try to find resemblances. It was often heard that probably the mythology of both religions were originally identical but that Navaho lack of a written tradition had caused a diversification of themes through the ages to the point where there was little resemblance to the immutable biblical "truths."

Some of the concordances between Navaho value and belief (as conceived in the deteriorated state of Rimrock traditional culture) and those noted by Navahos in the Christian system are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The principal focus of Navaho religious orientation is that of curing. Whenever Navahos have taken traits of alien culture and molded them into the genius of their own religion, the curing emphasis has been raised to primacy. The fact that Christianity has an important supernatural curing theme was taken up and emphasized by the Navahos. Jesus' miraculous cures and the power and interest in curing manifested by the Lord were certainly important correspondences in promoting communication, though for some Christian churches this Navaho emphasis would constitute a radical distortion.

The origin myth, which, as Kluckhohn remarks, is *the* story for Navahos as the Bible is *the* story for Christians, provided the most frequent elements for identification. Changing Woman, who created the earth people, is taken to be God.²⁹ Monster Slayer, the son of Changing Woman (God), is then identified with Jesus. The identification is enhanced by Monster Slayer's activities on earth. Like Jesus, he came onto the earth to "save" the people by ridding the earth of the dangerous monsters that occupied it before mankind's emergence. Since the term "save" in Navaho carries none of the Christian connotations of personal guilt, the circumstances under which a Navaho might feel a need for seeking this kind of safety might vary considerably from those that

²⁹ See Appendix A for literal translations of many Navaho terms used by the missionary's interpreter. Religious terms, being exceptionally rich in connotation, are very difficult to translate. Missionaries, like Father Berard Haile, who know Navaho well continually direct their efforts toward *introducing* words which will convey Christian meanings rather than the

erroneous Navaho counterparts. Near Window Rock, Navahos are reported to identify Changing Woman with the Virgin Mary. Few Christians would be untroubled enough by the sexual incongruities of this matching to have suggested the possibility. Cf. McNair, 1948, p. 132.

would impel persons from other cultures. Obviously the figure of Changing Woman, who is the wife of the Sun and only one actor in the origin drama, is far from an accurate parallel to the Christian God. One can see similarities in prayer usage between the figures of Jesus and Monster Slayer in Haile's comment:

Every chant seems to feel the necessity of Monster Slayer's assistance, as shown by the introduction into the chant of at least a set of his songs.³⁰

In addition to these identifications made between deities of the two religions, a number of correspondences were noted between elements of belief and ritual. In the prayers to God, the missionary often began "Heavenly Father." "Black Sky (Heaven), my father,"³¹ is a frequent element in Navaho daily prayer to the "Holy People." Many miracles of the New Testament have their counterparts among Navaho mythological events, and performance of miracles was thought similar to the feats of legerdemain known to be in the repertoire of Navaho ceremonial practitioners. The predictions of Jesus were seen as similar to the predictions made by old medicine men.

There were other minor elements thought to be identical by those seeking rationalization in Navaho terms for an interest in the Galilean mission as well as those claiming a parallel quality and adequacy for their own religion. One rather remarkable item can be mentioned here. A prediction of Jesus, his most cogent one, was that of the imminent quality of an end to the world. Navaho lore contains a similar prediction, but its imminence for most Navahos is not strongly felt. Under conditions within the range of tolerable existence for Navahos, some notion of harmony in the universe is felt to exist. The ends of life are thought to be clear and relatively accessible.

In McNair's terms:

Harmony may be described as that state of life in which the whole of the world, both physical and social, is in such relationship that well-being results for the individual and those around him and the threat of death is far away. . . .³²

In times when harmony is possible, the notion that death or the end of the world is close

for mankind is not credible to most Navahos. However, as physical and social harmony are disrupted, those who suffer most from the circumstances develop a psychological receptivity to such ideas. Psychiatric findings among individuals undergoing discordant interpersonal relationships give insight into factors that may increase receptivity to apocalyptic ideas. Fenichel states:

. . . the fantasy frequently met in the early stages of schizophrenia [is] that the world is coming to an end. The patients who experience such a feeling are correct, in a sense; so far as they are concerned, the objective world has actually broken down. . . . The world is . . . vital and significant as long as it is invested with libido. When a schizophrenic complains that the world seems "empty," "meaningless," "monotonous," and that he feels as if something has changed, as if people were mere fleeting images, when he states that he feels perplexed and abandoned in the new world, he reflects in all this the withdrawal of his libido from the objects.³³

The work of Anton Boisen and others has demonstrated that similarities exist between psychological factors in the etiology of certain mental disorders and in the background of conversion experience. In the latter kind of phenomenon, institutionalization of response patterns provides a social milieu for the behavior. Restoration of social relationships within an institutional structure that sanctions the particular kinds of activity surging to the behavioral "surface" of participants is thus often therapeutic for individuals. This circumstance serves as the basis for the growing subdiscipline of pastoral therapy.

FAMILY AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The use of kinship terms to relate individuals among themselves and to the deity played a prominent part in Navaho interest in the Christian church. With the deterioration of clanship patterns and the serious disruption of even family relationships, the acquiring of new "brothers" in the church and a new "father" in Heaven were importantly attractive elements.

In many of the patterns of group co-operation—in transportation, in building, in con-

³⁰ Haile, 1938b, p. 23.

³¹ Sapir and Hoijer, 1942, p. 399.

³² McNair, 1948, p. 230.

³³ Fenichel, 1945, p. 417.

tributing to festive occasions, in the incipient pattern of preferred marriages—the Christians were developing social relationships to replace those that had been disrupted through disintegration of the traditional system. Women, particularly, were strongly “disinherited” through changes affecting their conventional roles in the Navaho social system. Strong and influential in traditional life, women found that changing circumstances detracted from the integrity of their position. As the more mobile men changed their attitudes and activities in being forced to deal with dominant impinging white society, women were less and less able to serve as effective supporting figures. Furthermore, as men became less adequate in the male role of dealing with their environment, women’s unfulfilled dependency needs rose. Changing property laws and family residence patterns (including migration to schools, cities, etc.) contributed to the decline in influence of what matri-centrism had existed in Navaho life.³⁴

SELF-EXPRESSION

The expressive advantages accruing to Navahos through participation in Christian missions can be examined under two categories, education and ritual expression.

It has been demonstrated that sheer number of years of education in white schools was not itself a determining factor in conversion to Christianity. However, when put into contexts that gave presence or absence of white education special significances, the factor looms into greater importance. It seems to have been operative in a number of ways. For many who attended white schools and rejected them (through running away, etc.), probably because of strong ties with conventional Navaho life, later circumstances connected with the disintegration of local Navaho society brought regret; the church was for them another chance at acquiring white culture. Another group consisted of individuals from families that were strongly white-oriented but who, due to their position in the birth order or to other factors contravening their attendance at

white schools, were deprived of the possibility for acquiring formal white education; educational aspects of church participation gave them a chance to compensate for feelings of deprivation. These two types help to account for the large number of relatively unacculturated Navahos among strong converts. Another way in which the degree of white education was operative grew out of the discontinuity between expectations engendered in white schools and the harsh reality of Navaho participation in white society.

Those who have set themselves to follow the white man’s trail find themselves—as have representatives of other minority groups—in a (rationally) odd dilemma. While as youngsters they are rewarded by school teachers and others for behaving like whites, as adults they are punished for having acquired skills that make them competitors of their white contemporaries. . . . They find that they are seldom received on terms of social equality, even by those whose standards of living, dress, and manners they have succeeded in copying almost perfectly.³⁵

Thus for those who had had education church participation was another chance for acceptance in white culture through a non-economic channel. For those who felt deprived of white education, either through their own later-regretted defection or through contravening circumstances, the church offered a new institutional channel. At church many elements of white life were explicitly taught; manners, morals, cosmology, and even literacy.

The ceremonial life of Navahos traditionally pervaded every aspect of their existence and was intensive in its meaningful quality for participants. It served as a vehicle for personal expressiveness that brought the individual into harmony with the universe and his fellow men. Two trends have played their part in contributing to the inadequacy of traditional ceremonial life in the current Navaho situation. The first is the general decline in the amount and quality of ceremonial practice. This has already been pointed out above and constituted a kind of secularization. Navaho women were more “deprived” of this highly prestigious activity than were men. At Rimrock there were no female singer-curers, and women in general participated less numerous and less actively

³⁴ Cf. Hughes, 1951.

³⁵ Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 114.

in ceremonials than did men.³⁶ The second factor possibly contributing to the decline in adequacy of ceremonial practice was the painful (and partly inversely proportional) increase in witchcraft episodes, hypochondriacal states, and other responses to stress. As inwardly directed hostility increased the intra-group conflict and as conventional prestige and security mechanisms failed to "pay off," new witches were found. Up to a point new witchcraft episodes were "adjustive" in the ways pointed out by Kluckhohn in his writings on Navaho witchcraft. However, when the incidence of these episodes exceeded the capacity of the disintegrating ceremonial system to restore the victims and to deal with the alleged transgressors, new modes had to be sought.³⁷

Through accepting the idea of human sinfulness and through performing the public act of testimonial (especially, as will be discussed below for the Galilean church, where the self-castigating element is strong), aggressive impulses are momentarily directed inward toward the self. The acceptance and recognition of the group for the individual's performance of this act re-enforced the feelings of relief ensuing from its very performance.

THE GALILEAN CHURCH AS A SPECIAL CASE

There were many local, practical aspects of the Galilean missionary's work that contributed to his success: his personal energy and resourcefulness; the amount of time and funds he was able to muster in carrying out his program; his connection with the larger church organizations that provided clothing, travel to meetings; etc. In a more general way, though more limited in its applicability to the total Navaho group, the Galilean mission contained characteristics contributing to its particular success with some segments of the Rimrock group.

The most outstanding of these was the complex set of ideas relating to personal guilt and tribal "self-hate." In a way which will be more clearly recapitulated in a later chapter the Rim-

rock group suffered multiple frustrations at the hands of the whites. Unable to turn their hostility toward the dominant white society, they turned it inward, and the group as a whole underwent a marked increase in intra-group conflict. Many of those who suffered the most discordant relationships with whites and with their fellow tribesmen felt strong tribal "self-hate" (for which the Galilean contempt for the "heathen" medicine men served as a scape-goat mechanism). As relationships with Navahos became increasingly difficult and any kind of harmony became more remote, conflict with ideal images of group integration became more acute. As witchcraft mechanisms passed the point of adaptive function and as hypochondria became less "curable," partly because of the deterioration of the ceremonial system and partly because of the defective (un-restorable) context of the patient, the hostility narrowed and became intensively directed toward the self. Expressed in the testimonial, this acceptance of personal despicableness by converts served as a cathartic measure. Acceptance in a new group in which members felt the surging upward of similar forces helped the convert to restore a new type of harmony. Jesus Christ replaced Monster Slayer for these troubled individuals, though no one who could do more than "offer a mouthful" thought them the same.

Kaplan and Vogt, in their analysis of the life story of a staunch Galilean convert, point out the way in which the Galilean church helps to resolve the conflict between anti-social aggressive impulses and moral self-images:

Jim's anti-social trends are, in Navaho cultural pattern, incompatible with the other major goals we have noted. This has not resulted in a conflict, but rather in the suppression of the former and a reaction formation in which greater amounts of energy are thrown into the latter. Achievement and morality become important not only for themselves but because the suppression of a social need is contingent upon their satisfaction. In his struggle he has two other supports. One is his wife, upon whom he depends to help him be a good moral person. The other is the Galilean mission. This church, with its constant preoccupation

³⁶ With the exception of the rather special case of hand-trembling.

³⁷ The apparently high incidence of mentally disordered persons who were closely related to converts

suggests that individualistic solutions were "sought" through psychoses before the introduction of a new institution with appropriately sanctioned social modes of satisfying behavior.

with the rooting out and conquering of immorality and sinfulness has fulfilled an important function. By affirming that he is a Galilean, Jim is stating that he has conquered his own bad impulses, and is really a highly moral person.³⁸

THE MORMON CHURCH AS A SPECIAL CASE

The Mormon mission, in its revitalization period, has not sufficiently developed in scope to be properly termed a marked success. Before the revitalization, the only enduringly faithful convert was Marcos, a deviant case indeed among the local Navahos.³⁹ The period following a renewal of missionary emphasis found many baptisms; some for the superficial reasons noted above and some for motives more like sincere interest. Among the latter, one may detect certain value orientations that have directed their interests toward the Mormon church in particular.

The Mormon church, valuing *faith* as an abstract desirable entity, holds that to destroy the faith of a person by ridiculing his beliefs, before that person can fully understand the superiority of Mormon teachings, amounts to a destructive act toward humankind, a sin worthy of divine displeasure. For this reason, and because Indian ceremonials are viewed as identical in origin to Mormon theology, though degenerate in current native practice, Mormons are not strong in their condemnation of traditional religion. They are interested in the traditional religious forms and entertain the hope that, through persuasion and discussion, Navahos will come to see the superiority of the Mormon version over their own. Those strongly conventional family heads who intuitively felt that there were, in their own families, the kinds of needs that impel Navahos toward Christianity tried to influence them toward the Mormon rather than the Galilean church. Thus the Mormons benefited, in dealing with conservative Navaho families, by the presence of the Galilean church. Navahos not suffering the frustrations of unhappy relationships with their tribesmen would feel less keenly the elements of tribal "self-hate" which are emphasized in the Galilean church more

than in the Mormon church. Nor would they have the neurotic dependency and the distortion of affiliative impulses characterizing Galileans.

Mormons, while subscribing to the Divine Plan (of intelligence in the universe), to hierarchical notions linking man with the deities, and to the idea of perfection in process (all sharply in contrast to Navaho traditional premises), do have a more *this-worldly* orientation than many of the other Christian sects. The millennial aspirations are to be worked for and built *here and now*. The Mormon value of working hard to "build up the place" is one that finds a ready response in Navaho wishes to accumulate "hard goods." The continual emphasis on improving their lives was a Mormon theme, responded to especially by those Navahos for whom improving their lives meant taking on white ways. For Mormons the renunciation of stimulants is a further demonstration of a this-worldly orientation valuing purity, body health, etc. Similar renunciation by Galileans was more apt to have, as a basis in sacred logics, the conception of man's inherent weakness and proneness to sin plus the idea that a judgment and future punishments would result from transgressions. While Navahos traditionally sympathize with neither of these views, their own attitudes would ordinarily be more resonant to Mormon rationales.

Like the Navahos, the Mormons believe that knowledge is the keystone to mastery. However, their technique for achieving this state of knowledge is quite different (through revelation, etc.) and its nature is more absolute and authoritarian.

It is difficult to decide how the Mormon emphasis on patriarchal family structure should be analyzed. On the one hand, it re-enforces the fulfilling aspect of Christianity toward needs for a dependency object; yet, it is more or less in spite of Mormon orientations when Navaho women, among whom many of these needs are most pronounced, take strong individualistic action. Mormons tend to think of their converts in terms of families, male-dominated and unified. They direct their preaching to the male and his family. To the extent that this is a misvaluation of Navaho familial need pat-

³⁸ Adair, Kaplan, and Vogt, unpub. ms.

³⁹ See pp. 129 ff. for Marcos' story.

terns in these times, the value orientation is not completely advantageous to the missionary ends.

The fact that the Mormons are not as morally outraged as Galileans by Navaho polygyny is to the Mormon advantage.

Mormons lack the strongly Calvinistic idea of the nature of man. They hold, rather, that man is essentially good. This orientation, while it is pleasanter to contemplate, is difficult to evaluate. The Navaho notion of man is not immediately concerned with absolute moral value but rather with the harmonious relation of man to his universe. The lack of urgency in the Mormon gospel, a quality distinguishing it from the Galilean preaching, is an element consistent with the larger Mormon complex of optimism and constructive tolerance. This may contribute to the short-run failure of the Mormon mission: Navahos who would blame themselves and their tribal ceremonial authorities might find the sin notion more attractive; those not feeling the impelling needs characterizing Galileans would for the most part be content with traditional ways, and the Mor-

mons would have to rely on the slower process of persuasion.

In the long run, however, assuming that Navaho institutions will continue to disintegrate in the direction observed, Mormon religious emphases might find a more enduring and stable following than the more disturbed and urgent emphases of the Galilean church. For those Navahos learning white ways without the punishingly turbulent upheaval and frustration of too rapid and too haphazard change, the optimistic Mormon ideals might be more congenial. Mormons, in contrast to Galileans, tend to lay stress on those aspects of man's behavior that link him with his supernaturals rather than those tendencies of man that are antithetical to the sacred value prescriptions. One of the important variables that would swing the balance in the other direction is the rate of social change. If the change is fast, the disturbances lending themselves to the kinds of psychological states responsive to Galilean teachings may predominate. If the change is more fluid and gentle, the Mormon values may replace conventional Navaho ones by gradual default.

THE SURVEY SAMPLE

IN THE preceding chapter I have attempted to demonstrate that the conventional value systems of Navahos and Christians are impressively incongruous. An analysis that relied upon such comparisons on the level of cultural orientations alone would fail to explain the course of events at Rimrock as described above. The fact that Navahos were converted in such significant numbers *in spite* of these incongruities requires further analysis.

As a more or less common factor, we can note that Navahos inevitably would have suffered problems of cultural inadequacy following their release from Fort Sumner and subsequent population growth and dispersal. Problems of perpetuating their extraordinarily complex ritual tradition in the face of such a population growth would doubtless have rendered some groups more susceptible to conversion through sheer deficiency of traditional religious practice in many areas. In this study the problem of cultural deficiency attendant upon

inner-cultural dynamics is not treated separately; but the entire phenomenon of predisposing elements within the culture is dealt with as a complex function of larger forces of social and cultural disintegration in the acculturation situation. Navahos responded favorably to missionary values and thus shifted their own values in the direction of Christian faith partly because of the general growing deficiency of their own culture and partly because of the forces of social change and disorganization. Some Navahos were motivated predominantly by the one kind of pre-disposing factor, some by the other kind. In this chapter I shall attempt to analyse common elements in the background of conversion in terms of the psychological states and social matrices hypothesized as operative. In the final chapter I shall discuss some of the dynamic forces against the background of which these elements found expression.

RESPONSE TYPES

The responses of Navahos at Rimrock to the efforts of Christian missionaries showed great variation. I conceived of these responses as ranging on a continuum from strongly enthusiastic and supporting to the missionary programs (thus most extensive in their value shift) through strongly conservative (ordinarily, most hostile to the missionary programs). Individuals in the community could be classed according to their overt behavior into several more or less distinct response types on this continuum.¹

Six major categories were used as response types:

¹ Classifications were made through a composite rating with overlapping areas of consensus of several judges who knew the individuals concerned well enough to have definite opinions as to their behavior patterns. The interpreter for the missionary had detailed knowledge concerning degrees of intensity of participation by members of his church and less de-

STAUNCH GALILEANS

Those who responded most enthusiastically in favor of radical innovation included two to three times as many women as men. They attended Galilean church every Sunday when physically possible, prayed frequently and publicly to God, renounced their traditional religion, and in general oriented themselves toward attempting to understand and pursue the values of the Galilean missionary.

In many cases, particularly among the female converts, a marked emotional conversion experience was reported. Many passed,

tailed knowledge of attitudes of some outsiders. A ceremonial practitioner was not aware of intra-Christian church refinements but generally knew about the disposition of given individuals toward Navaho ceremonial ways. Every adult in the community was classified into one or another of the six reaction types used.

through this experience, into the class of converts distinguished by the Galileans as "sanctified." Being sanctified required more than the simple act of acceptance and testimonial or even undergoing formal baptism. A sanctified person had to undergo a special, personal sense of communion with the deity, and this communion was signified by a patterned emotional experience.²

The Galileans expect that all converts, but most particularly their staunch converts, will indicate their worthiness and purity overtly, as by abstaining from stimulants, renouncing their "heathen" native ceremonials, and avoiding "places of temptation" like rodeos, movies, dances, and fiestas.

MEDIUM GALILEANS

These individuals comprised a larger group than the Staunch Galileans. This group contained more women than men but in smaller proportion than the Staunch Galileans category. There were, in this grouping, two rather distinct types of Medium Galileans. One type might be called "Conflictful" or "Backsliding" Galileans. Their overt behavior was for the most part similar to that of the Staunch Galileans, but their principal distinction was that the differences between the two value systems with which they were dealing became a source of acute intra-personal conflict. While they were impelled toward embracing Galilean ways, they were deeply aware of underlying incompatibilities. They found it difficult to make the required sacrifices and were not able to enjoy the Staunch Galilean's sense of exhilaration and rejuvenation. The conflicts experienced drove members of this group to backslide into drunkenness, violation of Christian taboos, and other behavior contrary to missionary ideals. Though eventually many members of this group became apostate because the ambiguities of their situation were intolerable, some of them clung tenaciously to their church membership.

The other sub-type of Medium Galileans might be called "Doubtful" or, more particularly, "Syncretistic" Galileans. These individuals were not as negatively oriented toward their traditional religion as were the Staunch

Galileans. The characteristic of tribal "self-hate" was not as strongly developed among these converts, and their distinction was in their attempt to bring together values and beliefs of both the Galilean and the Navaho systems. It was among these converts that efforts to find parallels between Navaho and Christian mythologies were most marked and most of them sought to find some way to hold on to both. They participated less actively and less exclusively in church meetings. Though they "gave themselves to the Lord" and testified publicly from time to time, these converts did not undergo emotional conversion experiences or seek to proselytize among their own tribesmen.³

APOSTATE GALILEANS

This was a rather heterogeneous group. They had in common their past enthusiastic support for the Galilean mission, but they differed in their motives for severing relations. One sub-type comprised polygynous marriage partners, interested in the missionary but more devoted to the commitments of their marriage, who withdrew when the exhortation of the Seventh Commandment was applied to their lives. These persons had varied in the intensity of their commitment to the mission but agreed in valuing more highly their marriage arrangements. Another motivation in this group is found among those who were doubtful in early phases of the mission movement but who underwent some experience which consolidated their convictions on the side of withdrawal from the Galilean church. The experience ranged from strong kin group pressure to traumatic incidents, as when Yazi Miguel's mother underwent a recurrence of an old psychotic episode while attending a church revival meeting. It was also felt that many of the Apostate Galileans used one or another of these reasons for apostasy as rationalization for feelings of frustration at their inability successfully to exercise power in the new institutional structure.

STRONGLY MORMON-ORIENTED NAVAHOES

This was not as clearly distinguished a group as the others. Because of the brief history of

² For illustrations of this and other types, see the case studies, pp. 109-32.

³ Cf. Nock (1933), p. 7, "adhesion" vs. "conversion."

the Mormon mission in its new proselytizing effort and because of the less rigorous nature of its demands for change, the positive responses of Navahos blended diffusely into those which were indifferent to Christian proselytizing. Mormon missionizing, tolerant as it was of native ceremonials, did not incite the actively hostile kind of response characterizing some non-Galileans toward the Galilean missionary. Several Navaho ceremonial practitioners, largely motivated for practical reasons, were baptized in the Mormon church.

As the Mormon missionary efforts were intensified, a large number of baptisms occurred. The mixed motivation for these was mentioned in the preceding chapter. Among the converts, however, were some who seemed genuinely impelled by a desire for new learning. Those who might be termed Strong-Mormons probably numbered less than a half dozen, and none of them underwent such changes in his life-way as were observed for strong Galilean converts. Their principal distinctive characteristic was continued regular attendance at church. Many Navahos came to Mormon church services, but in most instances when they realized that (a) Mormons as well as non-Mormons were getting sick, and (b) that sacrifices were required of converts (one had to give up coffee, smoking, and liquor), they gave up their Sunday refreshments and fell into an easy apostasy. Those who persisted in their attendance, frequently giving up coffee and smoking to demonstrate their sincerity, most

often explained their interest in terms of wishing to be good people and learn to improve their fortunes. In no case was there a sophisticated understanding of Mormon doctrine as a distinct body of belief.

RESIDUAL NAVAHOS

The neutral group of Residual Navahos—those who fell into none of the other groups—was next on the continuum of intensity of response to the innovating stimulus. This group was by far the largest and set the norm of the Rimrock population as a whole.

SINGERS-CURERS

Singers-curers were selected as a category to represent the strongest exponents of the conventional Navaho value system. Diviners were classed with the group comprising the Residual Navaho population. Kluckhohn's comments on the distinction between these groups explains this decision:

The form [ceremonial practice] falls into the "priestly" tradition—there is formal instruction in a system of abundant lore. The latter [divining] falls into the "shamanistic" tradition—there is no formal instruction and a minimum of lore; it is a question of direct "gift."⁴

In general it was the category of singers-curers that was actively opposed to the missionaries' efforts toward value change, particularly the Galilean's.

THE SURVEY SAMPLE OF INDIVIDUAL NEED-DISPOSITIONS

In seeking correlates between individual need-dispositions (as indicated by psychological tests) and behavioral response types I used six need-dispositions. I selected these needs by appraising areas of correspondence between two kinds of phenomena: (a) personal satisfactions inherent in adopting and practicing the values proposed by the innovating institution, and (b) personal dissatisfactions entailed in the malfunctioning of conventional Navaho institutions.

The six that were chosen are:

⁴Kluckhohn, 1939, pp. 66-67. Also cf. Leighton, 1949, where it is clearly indicated that diviners often lack both knowledge and personal traits of the kind

RECOGNITION

Needs for recognition is a choice designed primarily for the women, whose changing role patterns will be described more fully below. The category manifesting most intense value change—that of Staunch Galilean—was made up, in large majority, of women. The initial hypothesis was that the recognition gained through participation in Christian church activities would provide satisfactions for disequilibria entailed in the changing Navaho women's role.

here sought to represent the strongest embodiment of conventional Navaho values.

WHITE IDENTIFICATION

White identification is a desire to live like white people and to take on their social and religious institutions as well as their technology. This orientation in its most intense form is coupled with another feeling, that of tribal "self-hate." For reasons to be described below, blame was often placed on the supporters of conventional values for the unhappy plight of contemporary Navahos, and those who were most intent on pursuing the desire to learn white ways often resented associations with conservatism and devalued modes of life.

AFFILIATION

Need for affiliation was thought to be important as a disposition attendant upon the disintegration of kin and other communal associations. The initial hypothesis held that those showing the most intense needs for affiliation would most likely be found among the strongest respondents in favor of the innovating institutions.

DEPENDENCY

Needs for dependency were thought to be attendant upon certain changes in the familial structure. It was hypothesized that the strong emphasis in Christian teachings on the receptive role of the deity as a dependency-object would draw those undergoing changes in social relationships likely to produce this need-disposition.

GUILT

A complex of anxiety and ensuing crystallization of the tendency in a guilt orientation was selected as a crucial determinant in disposing individuals toward Christian innovation.

⁵ Cf., for example, Roheim, 1950, pp. 319 ff.

⁶ Because of personal compulsives and perceived requirements of the Navaho group in their depressed and disintegrating state.

⁷ There were two exceptions to the randomness of the selections. These were the singers-curiers, from whose busy number I interviewed the first five I

While guilt is certainly present in aboriginal Navaho personality,⁵ the quality of expression of the guilt and the kinds of social mechanisms in which it operates are quite different from those of white-Christian culture. I hypothesized that the dispositions that would press toward accepting the latter kind of guilt orientation would be found among those suffering most frustrating and discordant interpersonal relationships, resulting from the group situation in changing Rimrock society.

LEADERSHIP

A need for exercising individual, strong leadership was taken to be an important personal orientation in affecting the reaction types to the innovation. For this need-disposition the hypothesis was initially advanced that both extremes of the response continuum would be more intense than residuals of either group. A particular individual who felt that he would like to, or ought to, exercise leadership⁶ might, depending largely on his social matrix, chose to achieve his goals through either the conventional channels of ceremonial practice or through the white-oriented innovating institution. The groupings of Apostate Galileans and Navaho Mormons were hypothesized as belonging, for this variable, on the high extreme of intensity for leadership needs. Many of the former were thought to be individuals who failed (for various reasons) to exercise power in the innovating institutions; many of the latter were thought to be individuals who failed to achieve power in conventional life, but who were too bound in conventional socio-cultural matrices to entertain the notion of radical Galilean innovation.

To test these hypotheses through the combined application of psychological testing instruments and social-matrix analysis, I selected, at random,⁷ samples of individuals from each of the reaction types.

could find who could carry on an extended discussion and the strong Mormons, who blended diffusely into the residual population. In the latter group I selected three individuals from among the half dozen most consistently named by Navahos and whites as the staunchest of Mormon converts.

CHANGING NAVAHO RELIGIOUS VALUES

TABLE 1: ADULT POPULATION AND SAMPLE SIZE OF SIX CATEGORIES OF RIMROCK NAVAHOS

REACTION TYPE	TOTAL POPULATION		SAMPLE*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Staunch Galileans	5	13	4	7
Medium Galileans	10	16	2	4
Apostate Galileans	6	9	1	4
Mormon Navahos (strong)	3	3	1	2
Residual Navahos	86	113	5	6
Singers-curers	12	0	5	0
Totals	122	154	18	23

* For each sample drawn two alternatives were also drawn to compensate for possible difficulties in locating and interviewing the particular person selected. Problems concerning terrain, shifting population, and limitations of time and funds contributed to these difficulties. Actual cases of individuals refusing to respond to the survey-questionnaire were very rare. In my sample only one such case was clearly for this cause; one other offered difficulties, but they may very well have been due to the extraneous circumstances offered as excuses.

A situational-choice questionnaire was administered to individuals selected as representing the various reaction categories. Each item of this questionnaire, which appears in Appendix B, was designed to present to respondents choices between two courses of action, both conceivable within the Navaho framework of life possibilities, but one of which *in Navaho terms* would indicate a greater intensity of the need-disposition being tested. To test the reliability of the responses to this questionnaire I obtained *TAT* protocols from a smaller sample of individuals of the same basic survey-sample. These protocols were analyzed independently for the same need-dispositions by two psychologists who knew nothing of the classifications of individuals in the series.

The presentation of the statistical results is made in the tables of Appendix B. A schematic summary of the results can be made here for the six variables of need-disposition.

TABLE 2: INTENSITY OF RECOGNITION NEEDS*

GALILEAN CONVERTS	NON-GALILEAN CONVERTS
Low	High

* I have classed all converts to the Galilean church, including those who have subsequently become apostate, as innovators for contrast with those who never did experience a sufficiently marked value shift to be classified as Galilean converts. The Mormons, because of their relatively inconsequential value-shifts, were classed with the more conservative grouping.

The response types were grouped dichotomously for statistical analysis because of problems of small numbers. The extent to which the actual figures support the statement of conclusions in this chapter can be evaluated by examining the tables and notes of Appendix B.

The terms "high" and "low" in the tables of this chapter are relative terms; i.e. the scores of a particular group are only conceived as high or low with relation to the scores of the other category of respondents, not in any absolute sense.

Thus the initial hypothesis was reversed, with Galileans (innovating end of the continuum) showing a significantly *lower* need-disposition for recognition than the non-converts (Conservatives).

TABLE 3: INTENSITY OF WHITE IDENTIFICATION
(Question 3 of the Questionnaire)

GALILEAN CONVERTS	NON-GALILEAN CONVERTS
No Significant Difference (both high)	

TABLE 4: INTENSITY OF WHITE IDENTIFICATION WITH
MARKED ELEMENT OF TRIBAL "SELF-HATE"

GALILEAN CONVERTS	NON-GALILEAN CONVERTS
High	Low

Thus the expectations were in general supported, though a surprisingly large number of Residual Navahos indicated a desire to be educated and live in the white way. While there are no apparent distinctions of a statistically

significant kind between innovators and conservatives for their simple wish for white-style life, the additional element of tribal "self-hate" is one for which their intensity of response discriminates the two groups in a statistically significant way.

TABLE 5: INTENSITY OF AFFILIATION NEEDS
GALILEAN CONVERTS NON-GALILEAN CONVERTS
Low High

Thus for the need-disposition to affiliate with one's fellows in an equalitarian manner,⁸ Innovators are significantly lower than Conservatives. Here again, as in the case of recognition needs, the initial research expectations were reversed.

TABLE 6: INTENSITY OF DEPENDENCY DISPOSITIONS
TOWARD LARGER KINSHIP GROUP
GALILEAN CONVERTS NON-GALILEAN CONVERTS
No Statistical Difference

TABLE 7: INTENSITY OF DEPENDENCY DISPOSITIONS
TOWARD A SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL
(DIADIC RELATIONSHIP)
GALILEAN CONVERTS NON-GALILEAN CONVERTS
High Low

Thus, while the kinds of dependency need-dispositions which distinguish Innovators from Conservatives are indeterminate where larger groups of orientation are concerned, it is clear that the initial hypothesis concerning the greater intensity of dependency needs of Innovators toward significant individuals is substantiated.

TABLE 8: INTENSITY OF GUILT-ANXIETY
GALILEAN CONVERTS NON-GALILEAN CONVERTS
High Low

Thus the initial expectations with regard to Guilt-Anxiety dispositions were supported, with the Innovators having significantly higher guilt responses than the Conservatives.

⁸ The kind of affiliation needs which the questionnaire stories were designed to detect and for which

TABLE 9: INTENSITY OF LEADERSHIP (POWER EXERCISE) NEEDS
COMBINED POWER GROUP* RESIDUALS
High Low

* This combination of categories is made up of Staunch Galileans, Singers-curiers, Apostate Galileans, and Strong Mormon Navahos.

Thus, my initial hypothesis for the intensities of need-distributions within the designated reaction-categories was upheld, with leaders on both extremes manifesting similar dispositions, residuals lower, and Apostate Galileans and Mormons meaningfully classed with the other power groups.

To summarize the findings for need-dispositions:

a) My initial hypothesis was upheld in the case of *guilt-anxiety* where Galileans were found to be significantly more intense than non-Galileans in the results of each test.

b) My hypothesis was upheld in the case of *white-identification*, where Galileans were shown to have significantly higher white-identification than non-Galileans, particularly with respect to the greater disparagement of their own native culture.

c) My hypothesis was upheld in a more limited way for *dependency* needs. While Galileans were not significantly higher than non-Galileans for this need when it was expressed toward larger kin-groupings, they were significantly higher when the item having diadic interpersonal relationships as its core element was used. In every case, the tendency was in the direction of Galileans showing higher dependency needs than non-Galileans.

d) My initial hypothesis was upheld for *leadership* need-dispositions, where the combination of Staunch Galileans, Singers-curiers, Apostate Galileans and Mormons were shown to be higher than the residual groupings of Medium Galileans and non-Christian Navahos.

e) My initial hypotheses were reversed in the cases of need-dispositions of *affiliation* and *recognition*. Galileans responded, in both cases, with indications of significantly lower needs than non-Galileans.

The interpretation of these findings will be discussed in a later chapter.

the *TAT* protocols were evaluated are the easy, equalitarian, peer-companionate kind of associations.

SOCIAL MATRICES

The attempt to place the kinds of psychological motivations indicated in the preceding section into some social context led to the development of four axes of sociological examination. These were:

- a) *Axis of affluence-poverty*
- b) *Axis of ultra-group relationships*
- c) *Axis of inter-group relationships*
- d) *Axis of sources of strength-weakness*

The social context of roughly the same individuals who comprised the sample for the psychological survey-questionnaire were examined.⁹

A chart was prepared for each case of the sample, and data were gathered to fill in and document information on the above axes. Each case of the sample was viewed as the center of a network of influences and experiences, represented on the chart (fig. 1) by a series of suc-

AXIS 1: AFFLUENCE-POVERTY

Every "outfit" and extended family in the Rimrock area was classified into categories of wealth according to their economic possessions. Bases for these classifications were sheep-counts from government records, records of accounts at trading posts,¹⁰ and independent rankings by Drs. Vogt and Kluckhohn. Three categories were used: rich, medium, and poor. The medium category contained approximately as many "outfits" or extended families as the rich and poor combined. It is not known how many individuals are in each wealth category when considered by "outfit."

Each individual of my sample was classified first according to the wealth rating on a three point scale for his "outfit," and then, similarly for his extended family group.

TABLE 10: CLASSIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS
ACCORDING TO THE WEALTH OF THEIR RESPECTIVE "OUTFITS"

	STAUNCH GALILEANS	MEDIUM GALILEANS	APOSTATE GALILEANS	GALILEANS TOTAL	MORMONS	RESIDUAL NAVAHOS	SINGERS- CURERS	NON-GALILEANS TOTAL
Rich	7	4	1	12	0	2	0	2
Medium	2	2	3	7	4	7	0	11
Poor	1	1	1	3	0	2	5	7

cessively expanding circles. This type of analysis does not provide a method for determining which items are to be sought as relevant to the spheres of influence, but it does help to examine the items selected systematically, in order to detect patterned regularities.

Testing the totals for Galileans against the totals for non-Galileans by the χ^2 test for significance, Galileans are found to be significantly wealthier than non-Galileans (at the .05 level). These are the results derived from a comparison of individuals by their "outfit's"

TABLE 11: CLASSIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS
ACCORDING TO THE WEALTH OF THEIR RESPECTIVE EXTENDED FAMILIES

	STAUNCH GALILEANS	MEDIUM GALILEANS	APOSTATE GALILEANS	GALILEANS TOTAL	MORMONS	RESIDUAL NAVAHOS	SINGERS- CURERS	NON-GALILEANS TOTAL
Rich	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
Medium	9	6	3	18	4	9	1	14
Poor	0	1	1	2	0	2	4	6

⁹ Of the forty-two cases used to analyze social matrices of the various reaction-types, forty were identical with the sample selected for the need-disposition questionnaire. Two were dropped from the original sample because of insufficient background data (e.g., as in the case of an individual reared in another Navaho community), and two cases were selected from the appropriate categories as substitutes. This series contains an additional case (the sampled series for need-dispositions totaled 41 cases) because

one individual (a male Mormon convert) would not respond to the survey of need-dispositions though he was drawn in my sample to represent that group. His social matrix analysis is retained here to help fill out the series and because his case is analyzed in Vogt, 1951, pp. 140-44.

¹⁰ Dr. John Adair's records provide exceptionally complete information on this aspect of wealth for a short period of Rimrock history in the late 1930's.

wealth. The picture changes when comparisons are made between groups of individuals on the basis of the wealth of their own extended families.

Though still markedly wealthier than non-Galileans in our sample, the Galileans are by extended family not significantly different than non-Galileans.

Clearly the picture of the growth of fundamentalist sects in our own civilization among the economically "disinherited" does not find a simple reflection in the situation of the Rimrock Navaho.

AXIS 2: INTRA-GROUP RELATIONSHIPS

Information was collected in the files of the Rimrock project to establish the kinds of relationships the Innovators (Galileans) have had with their fellow Navaho tribesmen. Three relationship types were decided upon logically into which each member of the Rimrock Navaho adult community might be classed. These were designated:

A. Predominantly negatively toned relationships with fellow Rimrock Navahos. Criteria used were self-expressed sentiments, gossip by others, diffuse and other punishing social sanctions.

B. Mixed relationships. Major elements both of unhappy punishing relations, accompanied by gossip

judgment classifying each individual. Having prepared tentative judgments, I made a final classification based on independent decisions made by Dr. Vogt and Dr. Kluckhohn. Each judge classified all of the individuals independently, and then, in cases of disagreement, collaborative judgments were made by the group. On 75% of the sample, judgments either coincided or one rater lacked information and made no rating. With the exception of one case, agreement was reached after discussion had brought out additional data on which to base the judgment. The single remaining case was classified according to the decision of two of the three raters. The pattern of these relationships is shown in table 12.

It is apparent from table 12 that outstanding among those having a history of bad intra-group relationships (negatively toned and mixed) have been the Galilean groups *and* the Singers-curiers. The description of affairs at Rimrock has emphasized that with the exceptions of a few disappearing revered singers, ceremonial practice has been markedly disintegrating. Since the death of Ricardo only one of the ceremonial practitioners is a "singer" in the technical sense; most of the rest are those referred to by Haile as "*aza oníligi*, who offer a mouthful, . . ." ¹¹

TABLE 12: INDIVIDUAL RELATIONS WITH FELLOW NAVAHOS

	STAUNCH GALILEANS	MEDIUM GALILEANS	APOSTATE GALILEANS	MORMONS	RESIDUAL NAVAHOS	SINGERS- CURERS
A. Negative relationships	8	2	3	1	5	2
B. Mixed relationships	0	2	1	0	0	2
C. Positive relationships	2	3	1	3	6	1

and diffuse social sanctions, and of rewarding positively toned relationships. These were thought of, for this classification, as roughly balanced in the personal history of the case.

C. Predominantly positively toned relationships with fellow Navahos. Little unfavorable gossip, many friends and active and respected participation in community affairs.

For the social matrix of each case, items from the files were accumulated to support a

The new hypothesis was developed that *some* persons who become ceremonial practitioners (and it must be remembered that in the present sample this type is very strongly represented) seek ritual practice as a compensatory device, similar in etiology to the course chosen by Galilean converts. These individuals are increasing in numbers at Rimrock for reasons which the concluding analysis will indi-

¹¹ Franciscan Fathers, 1910, p. 362.

cate. They chose ceremonial practice if elements of their social matrices pressed them in a conservative direction, and if their intelligence, memory, and other factors allowed. In times of general well-being, this kind of ceremonial practitioner is among the minority of those conducting Navaho "sings." As white culture holds out competing values and as new patterns of life cause increased intra-group tension, this "sub-standard" type of ceremonial practitioner comes into prominence. This is the case at Rimrock.

The motivating factors which dispose an individual toward Christianity or traditional ceremonial practice are in some ways quite different, but the new hypothesis here advanced is that they have in common the element of negatively toned relationships toward their fellow tribesmen. The background of this kind of relationship is varied and complex, but table 13 shows that when Singers-curers (in this case overwhelmingly of the "sub-standard" type) are considered together with Galileans¹² and contrasted with the grouping of Mormons and Residual Navahos, they have significantly worse (at the .05 level) intra-group relationships.

TABLE 13: INTRA-GROUP RELATIONSHIPS COMPARING COMBINATION X WITH RESIDUAL NAVAHOS*

	COMBINATION X	RESIDUAL COMBINATION
Discordant Rels. (Bad & Mixed rels.)	20	6
Positive Rels.	7	9

* It is noteworthy that there is a high *general* level of discordant inter-personal relationships among the local Navahos. The grouping of Combination X is significantly *worse* in its incidence of discord, but this by no means implies that the residual combination has experienced harmonious relationships except by contrast.

In addition to the above gross rating of individuals on Axis 2, other information pertaining to their relationships within the local

Navaho group was collected. Family lines, residence patterns, and clan membership were analyzed.

Family Lines. A complete genealogical chart of the Rimrock Navaho has been compiled through years of research in the area.¹³ The earliest settler generation (now all dead) recorded following the Fort Sumner period, have census numbers beginning with the digit "1"; the second generation, with the digit "2," etc., down to the present-day children on the fifth and sixth generations.

To explore inter-relatedness of converts, I began on the level of census numbers beginning with "2." Starting with these "2" level numbers now alive and classified as stable converts (either Staunch or Medium Galileans), I followed all possible primary relationships¹⁴ linking these converts to other converts.

I then began on the "3" generation level with all converts not yet linked by primary relationship to "2" level converts or their offspring.

After having traced all primary relationships originating with converts on the "2" and "3" generation levels, I found only one convert on the "4" generation level who did not have lineal antecedents who were converts.¹⁵

Two of these chains of converts inter-related by primary links include a total of 35 persons, of 80% of the convert population considered here. If we add to this a third chain that is linked to one of the others by a half-sibling tie, the total becomes 40, or 90% of the stable convert group.

In further analyzing these groupings of inter-related converts, there can be seen three major (in terms of numbers) descent groups and their spouses, and two minor descent groups. Furthermore, the minor descent groups are linked at some point by marriage to the major descent groups, and at least four and possibly all of the groups stem from devi-

¹² Referred to hereafter as "Combination X."

¹³ C. Kluckhohn, K. Spencer, and J. N. Spuhler carried out this work. The data set forth here is as of September 1948.

¹⁴ I.e., parent-child, spouse-spouse, sibling-sibling relationships. In each case where the possibility of a connection is obviated by the fact of death, the relationship to the closest kin of the deceased is considered as a single step from the case considered. This is

probably justified in most cases because sociologically the position of the deceased was often filled by one of his siblings.

¹⁵ It is perhaps noteworthy that this individual is a comparatively unstable member of the Galilean church. He is known as a backslider, and his siblings are among the most violent of local Navaho "bad boys."

ant individuals or relationships on the "1" or "2" generation level.¹⁶

Certain apostate Galileans withdrew because of kinship pressures to do so, while others have joined for similar pressures in the direction of the church. This is especially notable in the cases of spouses, usually with the wife as initiator of the action.¹⁷

The ways in which these kinship pressures were operative can be seen by examining life stories and testimonials, presented in Section two.¹⁸

Forms of residence. An analysis of the forms of residence for Christian converts shows that the distribution of types is about what might be expected on the basis of the distribution in the total population.

TABLE 14: RESIDENCE PATTERNS OF CHRISTIAN NAVAHOS (Families)*

	MATRILOCAL	PATRILOCAL	BILOCAL†	OTHER
Total Adult Population	45	26	12	10
Christians	15	7	3	0

* (Total number of Christian families—25).
† Used here to indicate moving from patrilocal to matrilocal residences at will, thus showing no strong preference for either pattern.

Therefore it may be concluded that particular types of residence patterning were not important as background factors in conversion.

Clan membership. Christians are rather numerous in Clan A, and rather few in Clan D,

though not significantly different from what might be expected. This distribution, shown in table 15, is taken to be a reflection of the family line influences pointed out in figure 2, rather than any operating clan dynamics. Clan D is a residual group into which are classified outsiders (Apache women) who have married into the Rimrock group. Since Clan D presents an even more heterogeneous descent picture than other groups at Rimrock, not even family dynamics are operative to produce an expected level or representation. Clan F is also unusually poorly represented among Christians.

TABLE 15: INDIVIDUAL CLAN MEMBERSHIP OF CHRISTIAN NAVAHOS*

	CLAN A	B	C	D	E	F	OTHER	TOTAL
Christian	21	11	11	2	4	0	1	50
Total Adult Population	66	46	44	41	30	20	29	276

* Excluding Apostate Galileans.

AXIS 3: INTER-GROUP RELATIONSHIPS

Each individual, in the sample of 42 cases, was rated again by the same composite method as was described for Axis 1. Once again three categories were used: ¹⁹

- A. Negatively toned relations with whites;
- B. Mixed, or little contact (more possible here than in Axis 1 on a purely geographic basis rather than for personality causes);
- C. Positively toned, rewarding relations with whites.

The following distributions emerged:

TABLE 16: INDIVIDUAL NAVAHO RELATIONS WITH WHITES

	STAUNCH GALILEANS	MEDIUM GALILEANS	APOSTATE GALILEANS	MORMONS	RESIDUAL NAVAHOS	SINGERS-CURERS
A. Negative Relationships	5	3	2	1	1	3
B. Mixed Rels. or Little Contact	2	1	2	0	5	1
C. Positive Relationships	3	3	1	3	5	1

¹⁶ The three major lines are:
Charles Yazí's father, who was killed as a witch;
Old Man Cripple Knee, a cripple;
The Old Headman's children by his second wife.
The first wife, Mr. Moustache's mother, was the higher prestige wife, and this fact, plus a possible genetic factor, may help account for this group. Headman's second wife died of cancer when the children were full-grown, but there has been a plethora of hypochondriacal complaints by her offspring.

The two minor lines are:
Old Pueblo's line, Yaqui Indian by descent, but sociologically a Pueblo, Old Pueblo had a Navaho wife and offspring.

Albert Chamiso's father, a minor line tying into Old Pueblo's and Headman's, has cases of mental disorder and an "idiot child," allegedly resulting from incest in the line.

¹⁷ Cf. Strodtbeck, 1950.

¹⁸ While no statistical analysis has been attempted to demonstrate how unlikely this pattern of inter-connectedness would be for individuals randomly selected from the total populace, we have the impression that the chances of such patterning are relatively slight.

¹⁹ Spanish-Americans, being a rather special case of white contact because of their geographic location, role in the land history, etc., are not included in these ratings; nor are anthropologists.

Once again it was noted that Ceremonial Practitioners, like Galileans, had a record of generally worse relationships with whites, as well as with their own people. Consolidating the figures into Combination X and the Residual Combination:

TABLE 17: COMPARISON BETWEEN COMBINATION X AND RESIDUAL NAVAHOS FOR RELATIONS WITH WHITES

	COMBINATION X	RESIDUAL COMBINATION
A. Negative Relationships	13	2
B. Mixed or Little Relationships	6	5
C. Positive Relationships	8	8

In this case, though the tendency is quite marked in the direction of worse relations with whites for Combination X, the differences between these groups is not statistically significant.

In addition to the above gross rating of individuals for their relationships with whites, I examined the educational history of these individuals to try to determine whether this factor was important.

Examining the 42 cases for amount of schooling, one finds the following distribution:

educated Galileans, most of whom *are* represented. Moreover, the rather strong representation of Singers-curers in this sample tends to skew the curve in the direction of lower average education for the non-Galilean group than would be the case for a more representative showing.²⁰

It seems conclusive that more important than sheer number of years of education per person, are the circumstances surrounding the educational experience. Such factors, as feelings of deprivation at being a member of a white-oriented family who is kept at home to herd sheep while other siblings are sent to school seem, as in the case of Audrey Mario, of great importance.

Other factors relating to the circumstances under which education was received also seem important in later dispositions toward white culture. There is evidence in the life stories to indicate that a person in school, finding it intolerable and successfully running away and severing his relationships with the school, may subsequently suffer punishing relations with his own culture. In such cases, the person's feelings of guilt and regret over having rejected an opportunity for education may be greater than would have been the case if the person

TABLE 18: INDIVIDUALS HAVING EDUCATION IN WHITE SCHOOLS

YEARS	STAUNCH GALILEANS	MEDIUM GALILEANS	APOSTATE GALILEANS	MORMONS	RESIDUAL NAVAHOS	SINGERS- CURERS
Over 10	1	1	0	0	0	0
6-10	1	1	2	0	1	0
0-5	8	4	3	4	10	5

Thus, though the average number of years of schooling among Galilean converts is higher than among the residual groups, this average is skewed by one or two individuals who have had a higher education. Their total universe is more nearly represented here than is that of the residual group; the small numbers dealt with obscure the fact that several non-Galileans, not represented in the present sample, have a level of education comparable to the most highly

had never gone to school. The data of Axis 2, when combined with information given here on education and interpreted in the light of the life stories, suggests the conclusion that this is an important source of motivation.

It is striking, in examining the data sheets of the cases in the sample, that many of the Galilean group do not have a history of "progressive" interest in white culture. A large number of them have always lived in hogans, pursued

²⁰ Ceremonial practitioners are less apt to have had white schooling because of a) if they had started young to learn the ceremonials this would have required an intensive Navaho training instead of white schooling; b) if they had started white school and

continued at it for many years they would have had difficulty in becoming singers because of their advanced age and poor command of the Navaho language after many years away at school (singers' Navaho must be impeccable to keep the patients' faith).

conservative modes of social and ceremonial life, and in many cases were strong sources of support for medicine men. The hypochondriacal disorders of Nanabah and her family are noteworthy in this respect, as is the Charles Yazi story.²¹ Their frustrations at the hands of medicine men—partly due to their largely incurable situations and partly due to the deterioration of quality of ceremonial practice at Rimrock—have doubtless been important factors in bringing about their rather sudden re-orientation toward white culture when the missionary arrived.

As a corollary to the findings about strong-conservative father figures, it is noteworthy that these families also represent, in Navaho terms, stable unions for the most part.

An important item, in the case of those Galilean women who did have strong-conservative fathers, is the presence of husbands who are inadequate to fill the emotional needs of the woman concerned. The total picture at Rimrock is that of a decline in adequacy of males in general between the generation of fathers and that of husbands of current middle-aged persons and is a problem that will be discussed in

TABLE 19: DISTRIBUTION OF CASES WITH STRONG-CONSERVATIVE FATHERS

	STAUNCH GALILEANS	MEDIUM GALILEANS	APOSTATE GALILEANS	MORMONS	RESIDUAL NAVAHOS	SINGERS- CURERS
Number of individuals in sample with Strong-Con- servative Fathers	2	1	0	3	7	3 plus 1 (?)*
Total number of indi- viduals in this sample category	11	6	5	4	11	5

* One case not known.

AXIS 4: SOURCES OF STRENGTH-WEAKNESS

Analyzing the case materials, for the same series of cases as described above, judgments were made about the emotional strength and stability of certain key figures of orientation.²² Fathers, mothers, and mothers' brothers were rated on a three point scale for their strength of character. Additional judgments were made as to the conservatism of each of these figures with reference to taking on white culture.

Table 19 shows the distribution in the sample of individuals having *strong-conservative* fathers. Strength was indicated as being the highest point on a scale of judgments involving three points, and conservatism was based on a dichotomous judgment made for each member of the group.

When consolidated into a four-fold table and tested for significance of differences, as indicated by a χ^2 test, it was found that non-Galileans have a significantly larger number of strong-conservative fathers than do Galileans. This difference is significant at the .01 level.²³

²¹ Cf. pp. 105 ff.

²² These judgments were indicated for each social matrix chart as in figure 1 above.

the concluding section. It may be noted here, however, that this datum combines with the finding on affluence to lead to the conclusion that it is precisely in those cases where the parental male was rich (presumably adequate in dealing with his environment) and non-conservative (developing new patterns of life—or at least neglecting traditional Navaho sacred life) that the greatest residual dependency needs ought to be found.

Examining next the cases where the father was either missing (died or left in early life) or unstable (mother promiscuous, father deviant), we find the following distribution:

The questionable case among the Singers-curers coupled with the lack of precision of the term "deviant," impel me to leave the data in the form below without drawing statistical conclusions. Clearly, Galileans come from families which can be characterized in a vast majority of cases by lack of normal integration, instability through promiscuity, or other deviant characteristics.

Analyzing the distribution of types of indi-

²³ Vogt, 1951, finds similar patterns for acculturation in general.

TABLE 20: DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUALS WITH MISSING OR UNSTABLE FATHER FIGURES

	STAUNCH GALILEANS	MEDIUM GALILEANS	APOSTATE GALILEANS	MORMONS	RESIDUAL NAVAHOS	SINGERS- CURERS
Number of Individuals in sample with Missing or Unstable Father Figures	5	3	1	0	1	1+1 (?)
Total number of Indi- viduals in this Sample Category	11	6	5	4	11	5

viduals in the mother's brothers' positions on the matrix-charts (fig. 1 above), one finds that the picture is similar to that presented for father figures in table 20 above. Here Galileans are found to suffer marked deficiencies but less clearly and strikingly than in the case of the closer figure of parent.

One finds, on examining the marital history of persons in the sample, that unstable marriages have been more characteristic of Galileans than non-Galileans. Six of the eight unstable²⁴ unions were among the Galileans. The three cases of unusual bachelor- or spinsterhood in this sample were found among non-Galileans, with two of them in the Mormon group.²⁵

To summarize the findings of the social-matrix analysis:

a) The relationship between economic poverty and conversion is more complex than had been anticipated. The dimension of change in economic status relative to the individual's larger family group is important, as well as the necessity for considering the general role of economic values relative to the total Navaho value system.

b) The hypothesis about those experiencing greatest value shifts having also experienced most discordant relationships within the group was supported for Galilean converts, but it was also found that this kind of social experience could stimulate some individuals, particularly

those with conservative social matrices, toward activity in the channels of traditional or "nativistic" values.

c) Relationships with whites of the strongest "nativistic" response types did tend to be discordant as hypothesized, and here another reversal was noted (cf. *b*, above), i.e., Galilean converts also tended to have had discordant relationships with whites. It was the Residual group and the Mormon converts who had experienced more positively toned inter-group relationships, or at least, as in the case of the former group, not very many negatively toned inter-relationships. This finding is, of course, greatly influenced by the fact that "whites" for this area has meant Mormon whites, so that while the initial hypothesis was upheld for the Mormon converts, those who chose the Galilean church found through this affiliation an opportunity to express hostility toward local white Mormons.

d) The hypotheses about the presence of strong conservative exemplars among non-innovators, and the lack of such figures among the convert group were sustained.

In the chapter that follows I shall attempt to give greater meaning to these statistical findings through an effort to describe the dynamic factors that have been operative in bringing them into existence and those that have allowed their expression in the forms observed.

²⁴ I.e. unstable in *Navaho* terms, where the changes were not simply due to demise of one spouse or through amiable parting of the pair.

²⁵ Cf. Marcos' life story, pp. 129 ff., for one of these.

CONCLUSIONS

EVEN in the best of times the problems confronting members of the Rimrock Navaho group in wresting a livelihood from their harsh milieu would be impressive. I have already mentioned the problems of cultural perpetuation that would have faced the Navahos just because of their extraordinary population growth and dispersal in the last half century. In addition, Navahos faced hardships in dealing with an environment that was becoming "objectively" more difficult even as ritual techniques for attaining human assurance in the face of worldly dangers diminished in their adequacy.¹ Kluckhohn analyzes historical and social forces that have produced stress on the Navaho culture in recent history.² Without re-examining in detail the chronology of stressful forces that have influenced Navaho life in the recent period, I shall mention some that seem to be major contributing elements. Thanks to the effect of these forces on value orientations, the Galilean missionary was able to achieve such a success that his group must now be counted as an important segment of the Rimrock community. Through an understanding of the operation of these forces we can begin to see how individuals in given social circumstances and with given changing need-dispositions came to choose the Christian values described above in preference to their traditional values.

While a general fading of traditional values was doubtless operative as a major factor in many cases of conversion, I think of this cultural deficiency as a determinant always present but playing a different part in bringing about value shifts in particular cases. For some individuals their own lack of knowledge of traditional sacred logics was of prime importance in their receptiveness to the new beliefs; for others the shifting of their value-cathexis was less a consequence of cognitive ignorance of Navaho patterns than of feelings of unfulfillment through them. This failure to

achieve an adequate level of satisfaction through conventional modes of life, however well comprehended intellectually, was at the core of motivation for value change. My hypotheses have aimed at defining the kinds of need-dispositions and socio-cultural circumstances that would accompany the various patterns of response to a particular value innovation. The purpose of this concluding chapter is to discuss the dynamics of inter-cultural contact and change that have operated to bring about these circumstances accompanying value changes.

The impounding of the Navaho tribe at Fort Sumner was something more than a stressful episode. The traumatic effects of that period in Navaho history have been described in countless analyses of Navaho life. Although Fort Sumner was followed in a resettlement period by a time of relative euphoria accompanied by growth of population and livestock, the wound incurred through subjugation was a source of ramifying consequences even in the more recent periods of their history.

As a result of the great expansion of the tribe in their already arid and sparsely vegetated lands, overgrazing by sheep threatened to make the prospect even more precarious. This became still more imminent when the erosion cycle pervaded the physical region. Indian Service officials enforced a program of stock reduction in the 1930's which, though they were acting in the best interests of their Navaho wards, was in terms of Navaho values largely incomprehensible and infuriating.³

The depression had consequences for the Navahos which were in some ways more disturbing psychologically than for whites:

The decade from 1932-1942 was also an epoch of greatly magnified tensions. . . . By 1930 Navaho economy had become sufficiently dependent upon the national economic structure that the disappearance of markets and the fall of prices of "the Depression" hit the tribe very hard. . . . (. . . To Navahos the whole

¹ The Leightons (1942), tabulate, in terms of sources and effects, Navaho conceptions of threats in their environment.

² Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 71.

³ Cf. Kimball, 1946; also Spicer, in preparation.

thing was bewildering in the way in which the caprices of supernatural forces are bewildering. To many, their loss in power to exchange or to purchase appeared as either a phase in the planful exploitation by whites or as a type of motiveless malignity on their part.)⁴

At Rimrock in particular, deliberate exploitation by whites appears to have been a major force in the Navaho environment. The history of Rimrock land use and ownership has been sketched in earlier parts of this paper, and by the 1930's Navaho land use had fallen into the complicated and fragmented pattern there described.⁵ Fencing, grazing and watering rights, and commercialization of labor led to physical and ideological cleavages among the local Navaho groupings.

The patterns of property ownership and use that had crystallized according to white law and white force made it difficult and certainly inefficient to continue many of the Navaho patterns of family and clan cooperation. Fluidity of customary practices, such as choice of residence after marriage, became complicated by the formalization of property rights. Certain of the controls inherent in the old Navaho life, e.g., the wife's opportunity to have easy recourse to her own family if troubled by relations with her spouse, were subjected to ideological as well as situational counterforces.

In the period of expansion and prosperity it had been possible for several resourceful Navaho men to accumulate considerable economic wealth. These men were, for the most part, strong leaders of the community, and their "outfits" were large and extensive. The kinds of changes described in the economic circumstances of the Rimrock Navaho made it almost impossible for the heirs of these strong men to face the problems of provision as adequately as their fathers. Daughters of these men married men who were weaker and less adequate,

largely as a result of circumstances but partly by virtue of statistical inevitability. The residue of unsatisfied dependency needs growing from this situation probably contributed strongly to the fact that women have responded in such great numbers to the Christian teachings.⁶

Dr. Vogt comments that acculturation in Rimrock Navaho life has come predominantly through the males. This historical fact probably has intensified the feelings of deprivation on the part of women, thus further helping to enhance their interest in the Christian church. Women had pursued somewhat less prestigious occupations in traditional life;⁷ they suffered even more under the impacts of white culture which subjected their produce to the incomprehensible caprice of the market and created needs for cash so that they might obtain the machine-made consumer goods with which their own could not compete in quality or price. Many also felt deprived of opportunity for the rewards of white contact which men enjoyed because of their greater mobility.

The restrictions and formalizations inherent in the new property ownership and use patterns caused a corresponding decrease in the fluidity of Navaho economic patterns of visiting, cooperation, and mutual obligation. The presence of cash markets for labor as well as the creation of needs and aspirations for white market products contributed to the decline of traditional interchange of work and other cooperative patterns. The hostility generated as a result of the multiple frustrations flowing from white contacts was never allowed expression against the powerful dominant group from which the frustrations flowed. With their hostility turned inward upon their own community, the Navahos of Rimrock found that an increase in fighting, drunkenness, and other violence was disturbing their gatherings and family life.

⁴ Kluckhohn, 1945c, p. 227.

⁵ Landgraf, in press.

⁶ This explanation is a special case that only partly explains the greater participation of women. It has been noted by many students of conversion that women participate more actively in Fundamentalist Christianity than men. This observation seems to hold in such diverse cultural settings as lower-class American "storefront" missions and African and Navaho missions. The extensive aspect of this problem is beyond the scope of the present paper. However, it is to

be noted that types of explanations range from those where the assumption is that men and women are constitutionally of equal susceptibility and respond differently because of role differences, to those that postulate a different temperament or constitutional receptivity of women regardless of their cultural activities. Charles Hughes, 1951, explores the problem with reference to the Rimrock Navahos.

⁷ Kluckhohn, 1938, offers one example in a recent period.

Spread thin by events following Fort Sumner, Navaho ceremonial practice was disintegrating and its mythology slipping into the abyss of forgotten, untransmitted knowledge. Young Navahos away at school throughout the winter missed certain important sacred stories that could be told only in that season. It appeared to them, faced with the necessities for getting along in white-dominated society, that ceremonial knowledge did not offer as convincing a route to power in the world as economic accumulation. Many of the young men who now turned to ceremonial practice were not of the superior intellect and strength of character traditionally required. Too often they were persons such as our data describe above who had suffered frustrating experiences at the hands of their tribesmen and hoped, through learning to sing "a mouthful," to restore sufficient prestige for themselves to make life more tolerable. Here within the Navaho culture was a process of "struggling away from sin rather than struggling toward righteousness," described in William James' well known passage as fundamental in many conversions.

Because of the sustained and intensive pressures upon Navaho life in the recent period, complex patterns of adjustment have been developed at Rimrock, illustrating all of the possibilities described by Kluckhohn.⁸ Autistic responses, witchcraft episodes among them, increased. One of the two suicides in the Rimrock area since 1870 had killed a "witch" shortly before taking his own life; both suicides had been threatened with imprisonment in a white jail. Hostility toward whites increased; though such contra-acculturative programs as the Jake Morgan movement offered these feelings an expressive channel, the hostility for the most part had to be directed inward toward members of the local group. Even in adjustive responses where the individuals concerned were strongly motivated to learn white ways, ambivalence was strongly felt and symptoms of intra-personal conflict widespread.

Perhaps the most striking responses, as the Leightons and others have pointed out, were increases in hypochondriacal states and malaises accompanying acute anxiety. In the ways

pointed out by Kluckhohn, these anxieties had ramifying consequences. The victims not only suffered personal illness but also involved their relatives in the expense and anxieties of ceremonials, often implicating other members of the community as well through accusations of witchcraft. In fact these hypochondriacal states increased to such an extent that even if Navaho ceremonial practice had been functioning at its vigorous optimum of efficacy, it probably would have been ineffectual in a significantly large number of cases. But for reasons connected with the presence of the hypochondriases themselves, ceremonial practice was losing its efficacy. Deterioration of ceremonial lore, competition from a white society often offering its own remedies with an attitude of contempt for the "witch-doctor nonsense" of the natives, and economic press of a culture that saw no route to power and dignity through non-material control, all increased the pressures on community members.

How, then, did it happen that some Navahos chose Christianity, some were indifferent, and others aligned themselves in opposition to Christian churches? Though Barnett's thesis⁹ that the "disgruntled, maladjusted, the frustrated, and the incompetent are pre-eminently the acceptors of cultural innovation and change" is upheld, our research attempts to explore findings that not all such persons seek every type of change (e.g., Christianity), and that others besides these types do seek some kind of change. The material presented in the descriptive sections and the survey sample seems to indicate the following analysis.

On the level of personal orientations, the need-disposition of high anxiety seems to be the keystone of factors disposing toward conversion. In the actual dynamics of conversion, particularly to the Galilean church, this anxiety must be appropriately focused and its energy re-channeled as guilt. Guilt is at the core of Galilean participation and is ordinarily (at high intensity, at least) comparatively moderate in adult Navaho need-dispositions. Navaho socialization practices are thought not to contribute as strongly to adult guilt feelings as might be necessary to respond to Fundamentalist Christianity.

The problem is how individuals feeling a

⁸ Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 71.

⁹ Barnett, 1941.

mounting degree of diffuse anxiety can learn to feel the guilt appropriate for conversion experiences. Allport and others have stressed the fact that continual pressures on the individual can affect the functioning of conscience. He notes that these dispositions "must depend not only upon what happened in childhood, but on the contemporary character of the sentiments."¹⁰

Many Rimrock Navaho adults can remember the strong moral teachings laid down for them by their fathers in a period when ideal Navaho social values were still vitally flourishing, though threatened. While Kluckhohn's comment that "Navahos do not lie awake at night worrying about their secret sins"¹¹ is true for well-adjusted Navahos in euphoric times, there is evidence that the anxieties produced through intra-group discord in stressful times can be channeled (through other modes than child-rearing practices, though reflected there too) into guilt feelings. McNair remarks with insight:

Though the Navaho may not lie awake at night worrying about his infractions of a moral law and the impending punishment that will come when he is judged, the causes of his stomach-ache and the failure of his corn crop probably lead to a good many private worries. . . . Navaho morality may be summarized in the phrase 'be ye conformed.'¹²

In the throes of a difficult and frustrating acculturation experience, Navahos found many more sources for anxiety than those described by McNair. Though the moral dictates of traditional Navaho culture are relative to the situation rather than absolute as in Christian morality, they were formulated by Navahos in a period that provided no antecedents for the kinds of change being experienced in recent

Navaho history. It is difficult enough to imagine how the shame-sanctions characteristic of traditional Navaho social control could have functioned so effectively in "normal" times. The Navahos are geographically dispersed, somewhat individualistic in their herding and other economic practices, etc., yet anyone who has lived with Navahos is impressed with the extent to which it is precisely this shame (i.e., moral restraints exercised through others' attitudes) that functions powerfully in the system of social controls for conventional Navahos. However, while the locus of moral judgment and reinstatement is in Navaho society, the sources of danger and illness are in the environment. As the frustrating and infuriating relationships with an increasingly uncontrollable environment multiplied, activities and feelings expressing hostility inward against the local group were augmented. Problems of social control through shame-sanctions became more unmanageable both because of the increasing incidence of "trouble" cases (e.g., drinking, fighting, illnesses) and because of the disinclination of individual Navahos to be regulated by opinions of other Navahos whom they did not respect.

The relationship in Navaho thought between strength and moral value has been mentioned. In the current state of Navaho society—rendered confused and ineffectual in the face of white dominance—some must have felt very strongly something like the following formula:

Weakness equals evil,
The source of evil must be brought under control to
restore harmony,
This is impossible in the case of white culture because
of their superior strength,
The locus of evil is transferred to the Navaho tribe

relationship between incidence of mental disorders and the family lines of converts. I found that over a third of the cases reported at Rimrock that had a probably functional basis could be attached by primary connections to the family lines of Christians charted above in fig. 2. Considering that the people charted comprise less than 1/5 of the population, and that a large number of their chances for kinship connections are taken up by others also on the chart, one is impressed with the relationship between forces predisposing individuals toward conversion on the one hand and toward mental disorder on the other.

¹¹ Kluckhohn, 1949b, p. 366.

¹² McNair, 1948, p. 225-26.

¹⁰ Although the context of this comment by Allport, 1950, p. 90, is somewhat different than as it is used here, it relates interestingly to an earlier comment on the relationship between some strong converts and some cases of mental disorder in this population. Allport was noting the relationship between conscience and mental health. The introduction of a new social institution has a parallel (for those who find satisfaction in it) to psychotherapy. This is a limited parallel for many reasons, but therapy can be viewed as individually "tailored" social change insofar as it alters the individual's perception of his social milieu. A new institution changes both perception and social milieu. It was noted above that there was a striking re-

(as weak) and eventually to the individual Navaho (self),
 Evil (self) equals guilt (by definition when the locus of blame is in the self),
 Good inheres in white (strong) society, and complementarily evil in Navaho conventional society (tribal "self-hate").

Pedro Miguel, though only a doubtful convert, expressed the Navaho notion of the relationship between strength (as ritual efficacy in bringing the world into harmony) and moral prescriptions (the Christians having, in his view, a confusingly different notion of the relationship):

I feel that the Navaho religion is not strong enough. And Fry, what he is teaching is strong. All the people who join that church say that's the truth. . . . It's hard to understand those stories . . . and when I go home the story I heard has gone out of my mind. You see, Fry asks too much . . . when you join the church you've got to be honest and true, and what he teaches you've got to obey . . . that's what God says. I musn't cuss anybody, or laugh at anybody, or steal, or lie, or drink wine or whiskey, or to smoke. If you believe in God you've got to do this way—then he'll take you to be His child. If you don't—then he'll just throw you to the Devil.

If conscience can be viewed as "the indicator of the measure of agreement between our conduct and our values,"¹³ then a growing anxiety, insofar as it has to do with a discrepancy between the available possibilities for action and values imposed by the ego-ideal, reaches a level where it is susceptible to conversion to guilt. One is reminded of the Gospel of Ramakrishna:

Someone . . . gave me a book of the Christians. I asked him to read it to me. In it there was only one theme—sin and sin, from the beginning to the end. The fool who repeats again and again, 'I am bound, I am bound,' remains in bondage. He who repeats day and night, 'I am a sinner, I am a sinner,' becomes a sinner indeed.¹⁴

The basis within Navaho logics from which this kind of guilt awareness could develop under appropriate circumstances is suggested by Kluckhohn.¹⁵ He cites Matthews:

Torlino, a singer of Beauty Way, said to Washington Matthews: "I am ashamed before the earth; I am

ashamed before the heavens; . . . I am ashamed before the blue sky; I am ashamed before the sun; *I am ashamed before that standing within me which speaks with me (my conscience)*. Some of these things are always looking at me. I am never out of sight."

High anxiety alone, while a necessary condition for "strong" conversion, is not ordinarily sufficient. A complex of other characteristics partially growing out of the kinds of relationships that often result from the anxiety is important.

In the cases of Galilean converts, the anxieties that emerged from discord, shown to have been important in their backgrounds, developed a fear of easy sociability with their fellow Navahos. The significantly lower figures as to affiliation drives scored for Galileans are interpreted to mean that these individuals, because of their history of familial and social relationships, have restricted their responses and inhibited the "natural" equalitarian expression of this need. What originally had been a disposition for easy and "natural" affiliation was changed by fear and suppression; these feelings now were capable only of being expressed as desires to dominate others (leadership needs) or dependent wishes. Where individuals were unable to satisfy even these "neurotic" forms of affiliative needs, a sense of personal isolation resulted. In the case of the "sub-standard" ceremonial practitioners, one kind of affiliation was reattempted through exercise of leadership power in conventional channels. Among those who lacked strong conventional social matrices—whose fathers were missing, deviant, or unusual as role models; whose mothers were promiscuous or unstable—it was the Galilean values that found response. Punished in their relationships with others, often unable to achieve stable marriage, yet feeling dependent, they sought a new kind of affiliation under psychologically different conditions; they narrowed their expressions of friendship to those who, like themselves, were suffering discordant human relationships.

Moreover, they feared to seek recognition through conventional channels. Their recognition needs, at first inhibited so that indirect expressions such as hypochondria and witch-victimization were prominent, later were ca-

¹³ Allport, 1950, p. 90.

¹⁴ Cited by Pratt, 1920, p. 131-32.

¹⁵ Kluckhohn, 1942a, p. 75.

pable of being resolved in the Galilean church. The Galilean attitude toward recognition needs was that one achieved an ultimate, more valuable recognition in another existence by renouncing overt praise-seeking in this life. The very weekly acts of renunciation provided earthly recognition through public testimonial before a select audience.

Without attempting to solve the problem of priority, we can see the crucial importance of the fact that this church belonged to the dominant white group whence all the pressures flowed. White identification, with the opportunity to focus hostility toward the native group with whom discordant relationships had occurred, was a strongly reinforcing characteristic of the new church. The world of Navaho values had been turned topsy-turvy. The hierarchy of values had been disrupted, behavior patterns learned relative to them became inappropriate, and even certain appropriate ones, as in the case of witchcraft, became painful for an increasing number of victimized individuals. The quest for standards thus became paramount in importance. Through the Galilean church doctrine *right* became that which God approves, and *wrong* was established as that which God disapproves. Native group loyalty, proven so painful and inappropriate, was abandoned for loyalty to something more than contemporary and local—something cosmic.

Navaho emphasis in religious values has always been in doing rather than in the peculiarly Western element of believing. Whitehead, philosophically agreeing with Boisen's psychiatric interpretation of religious experience, states that "Religion is what the individual does with his solitariness."¹⁶ Obviously, not any religion will do; man is never actually found in a "state of nature" wherein he could rationally devise one that would do. "What one does" in terms of religion under the circumstances described at Rimrock has several characteristics.

First, the religion must be accessible. There are three possibilities; conventional Navaho, Galilean, and Mormon. Mormon participation which so far has not conflicted with traditional participation ought not to be viewed as an exclusive alternative like the Galilean church.

Second, it must be one that offers a setting and a system of beliefs that are acceptable and resonant to Navaho needs. In times of Navaho euphoria the practical aspects of the setting offered—the fellowship, gifts of material goods, dependency and confessional outlets—are not of much interest to most Navahos, and the doctrinal elements of Christianity appear to the Navahos to be quite remote from their own—their differences being even exaggerated. In times of discord, tension, and stress, needs are created within the community which find expression in the church's institutional framework. Dependency in an association with others feeling this need, recognition through renunciation of conventional practices, hatred for the traditional ceremonial leaders who serve as scape-goats for frustrations, unity with the dominant white and world society—all these found sufficient resonance among some Navahos to cause an upsurging of response manifested in emotional conversion experiences. Doctrinal similarities were seized upon and emphasized, with Galileanism being regarded either as a complement to transitional beliefs (Syncretistic Type) or as a purer manifestation of the highest religious values.

Certain parallels between activities of which some Navahos had been deprived and those sought in the new institution suggest to the observer the notion of compensation mechanisms at work. Navaho women, deprived of prestigious activities in Navaho life and of participation in the acculturative benefits of white contact, seek to become strong Christians; they sing, testify, and find relief from the tedium of herding and weaving. Those who have been deprived of father figures and conventional role models by the increase of disrupted relationships within the community find a new father in the Christian church. Anxiety over the precariousness of life and the pain of punishing, inter-personal relationships find a channel in an organization that assigns a cause to anxiety, fixes a focus within the traditional group for the hostility, and offers recognition and salvation in another life. This sense of compensation sometimes emerges in the consciousness of the Galilean convert who feels that he has found something which traditional Navahos have been seeking with false and in-

¹⁶ Whitehead, 1926, p. 16.

effectual means. The life story of Charles Yazi exemplifies vividly this perception of *equivallence of quest*.

As our analysis has brought out, many Galilean converts, and Mormons to a lesser degree, are engaged in this kind of quest which Navaho society in its present straits is incapable of fulfilling traditionally; others are so at odds with Navaho life that even if the mainstream of Rimrock Navaho culture were capable of this fulfillment, their deviant circumstances would keep them outside the larger currents.

Though a society always has a certain number of deviant types, it is only where conditions press toward an increase in the number of deviants and conduce to the disintegration of the main body of society that an institution so disruptive and alien as the Galilean church at Rimrock could succeed as well as it did.

... They (the old medicine men) always argued like this and about many more things. I just listened while they fought each other about that. And they still don't know what Sá'á na·yái and Bik'e xójón are.¹⁷

EPILOGUE

This study has sought to develop two kinds of conceptions: a general point that conversion to Christianity is not automatic or "natural" but reflects and is a response to socio-cultural disorganization and emotional need; a set of points specific to the Rimrock Navaho situation, in which particular psychological states accompanying conversion and the nature of their socio-cultural antecedents were examined. Missionizing, when it is successful, operates selectively by attracting more women than men, more of the socially and psychologically disfranchised than of the others, and more of those who stand in certain spheres of kinship influence to the disfranchised than those who do not. There has been some demonstration of the corollaries of these points: that other channels than Christianity may exist for the satisfaction of intolerable emotional states and that other motives exist for adhesion to the church.

Examining the ethnological record for analyses of parallel cases among other peoples, one finds a plethora of fragmentary items reported. Even so, most of the items found are more in the nature of reporting outstanding cultural effects than of analyzing the process in a structural sense. We learn, for example, that the

missionaries' insistence on the abolition of polygamy in Africa led to demands for *lobola* returns that were reminiscent of a depression bank-rush;¹⁸ or that their insistence on the curbing of Melanesian ceremonials involving the collection of human heads resulted in acute anomie.¹⁹ Very often elements are encountered that are strikingly similar to elements of the Rimrock situation; e.g., Nock notes a similar awesome regard for the written word among the ancient Greeks: "Throughout the Imperial period one of the conspicuous features of intellectual life is a readiness to accept statements because they were in books, or even because they were said to be in books."²⁰ Latourette points out how in many parts of the world native chiefs welcomed missions, as Bill Begay did at Rimrock, because of the material advantages offered by alliance with them rather than because of conviction;²¹ and Mathews tells of how resistance grew in African groups only after it was seen that among the effects of accepting Christianity was the increasing deficiency in traditional ceremonial participation.²²

Earlier anthropological investigators concentrated much of their energy in the amassing of

¹⁷ For the context of this comment see the life story of Charles Yazi, pp. 109 ff. Obviously, Charles Yazi, having found Jesus, knows now what *sá'a na·yái* and *bik'e xójón* "really" are. Another very striking example of this dynamic at work is seen for a different culture in the autobiographical work by Karl Stern, *The Pillar of Fire* (N. Y., 1951).

¹⁸ Sundkler, 1945.

¹⁹ Rivers, 1922.

²⁰ Nock, 1933, p. 241. Also cf. Nock's types of conversion; many seen in the Navaho cases presented below.

²¹ Latourette, 1936, pp. 460 ff.

²² Mathews, 1936, p. 14.

the kind of materials to which missionary activities were tangential or even disruptive.²³ Those who dealt with Christian conversion in our own society were largely interested in inner-personal experience.²⁴ Only as acculturation came to prominence as a special subject of social anthropological interest²⁵ and as structuralist views of society came into more widespread use does one find in the anthropological literature suggestive possibilities for more systematic comparisons. Thus Buck shows the complicated inter-relationships between religious life and the political organization of a Polynesian group, recounting in some detail the kinds of displacements throughout the social system that result from changes in religious practices.²⁶ And Gluckman writes of the Zulu:

More women than men become Christians, more younger sons than elder sons, more unimportant than important people: there are here wide ranges of structural problems.²⁷

The development of comparative analyses of such bits of information as Gluckman's for a range of societies is a problem that offers fruitful vistas.²⁸ Such analyses could endeavor to distinguish between the more general characteristics of conversion and those specific to the social system and acculturation situation under examination. For example, Gluckman's

²³ E.g. early controversies over the "purity" of Andrew Lang's findings of high God ideas among marginal peoples. Some anthropologists' principal interest in missionary influence was to establish the extent to which the presence of missionaries ought to be counted as a contaminating factor in evaluating the autochthonous quality of a given belief.

²⁴ E.g. James, 1902; Leuba, 1896.

²⁵ Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, 1936.

²⁶ Buck, 1939.

²⁷ Gluckman, 1949, p. 15.

²⁸ Philip Ashby's (1950) study is an excellent counterpart on the side of the development of missionary policies and attitudes. A similar study might be made from the point of view of natives in various types of social systems and under various contact circumstances.

²⁹ It could be argued that the personal qualities found to hold for Galileans were the results of their present status rather than motivating forces that predisposed them to enter their present status (*i.e.* Galileans feel high anxiety because they are taught to in church; they feel low affiliation because they are affiliated, etc.). This argument is particularly cogent because the tests were administered at a time when the subjects were church members and discussion of their earlier states is by inference. I have, however, followed

finding on women's conversions agrees with the Navaho picture, but an explanation for the Zulu patterning of selection as between male siblings would probably find its interpretive basis in the Bantu system of age-grading and the state of affairs relative to male warrior roles. Gluckman's statement about important and unimportant people would require clarification. The criteria for importance vary from culture to culture, and the kinds of deprivations inhering in a contact situation vary with the circumstances. More general formulations would be made possible through such detailed extensive comparisons. The present study offers a case for consideration in such a series.

Perhaps more challenging than the problems raised by the substantive findings of this study are those suggested by its methodology and assumptions. Certain assumptions were made about the stability and perseverance of personality characteristics, and about the possibility of retroactive inferences based on projective-test findings.²⁹ Surely test responses at any given time reflect both the predispositions ingrained through early life experience and the psychological states engendered in the current situation. The situational-choice questionnaire, because it structured responses with cultural content part of which served as the very basis for the separate existence of the categories

the interpretation presented because:

(a) Though it is known that *TAT* responses can change in tone even with transitory mood changes, the stability of general reaction patterns is assumed to be great.

(b) It is further assumed that individuals will join such an association only if they are responsive to the value-orientations of the new institution.

(c) In the usage presented here, the terms "easy affiliation" or "easy sociability" are used to denote a kind of relationship that is equalitarian, mutually friendly, and reciprocal. It was this kind of variable that was rated for in the sample protocols. The quality of affiliation observed in the Galilean church is of a more qualified kind (restricted to the "in group") and of an emotional tone closer to dependency. The casting together, almost in desperation, of fates—not by directly reciprocal affiliation, but through the intermediacy of Jesus and God—characterized the Galileans. Similarly comments apply to recognition needs (*cf.* text above).

(d) The responses are not to be considered alone. If this were the case a number of interpretations would, indeed, be possible. Combining the psychological level of responses with the social histories of the respondents (including their own life stories) suggests the analysis used as most plausible at present.

tested, was thought of as more strongly indicating current orientations. The *TAT*, because it left the structuring of responses almost entirely to the subject, was thought of as more susceptible to being scored for the more ingrained kind of personality dispositions. Research on this is currently under way among clinical specialists in projective techniques, but another dimension of investigation might be suggested as a fruitful concomitant. Samples could be chosen from strata based on factors shown to be related to proselytizing categories (such factors as wealth of "outfit," loss of conventional role-models, or history of deviant and punishing relationships within the group) but selected from among individuals who are *not* converts. If the motives postulated here as flowing from the social circumstances used are really related to those factors (rather than being results of conversion), the test findings should reveal differences equivalent to the differences between Galileans and non-Galileans. Through this kind of selection of various relevant sociological strata for converts and non-converts, researchers should be able to design experiments calculated to determine the weights of given factors under various circumstances (i.e., in various combinations with other factors). Ultimately through the diminishing of the range of deviation within experimental categories, one should be able to develop typologies of reaction behavior from the survey material that correspond to observable, selective activity of the population.

One of the problems of greatest concern to social relations disciplines is that of reconciling

the mathematical possibilities for order in experimental data with the intricate complexity of human life-processes. I have attempted to obtain a measure of representativeness with techniques as structured and standardized as possible within the dimensions that the problem dictated. I have not dealt with human beings as though they were bean plants at the Rothamstead Agricultural Experiment Station³⁰ or as marbles in a bag only having to be plucked at random to determine the characteristics of the aggregate. Each individual, besides being a specimen in a sampled series of response types, was viewed in a social context that gave meaning to his responses and a setting for his conduct. The discipline of social relations is developing an ethic that accepts both the rigor of scientific discipline and the penetrating qualitative grasp of human intuition, but neither as an exclusive objective. Researchers, in a period when neither element can adequately or predictably order its complex humanistic data, stand on a knife-edge between the apparent orderliness of picayune or monistic organizing principles and the confused or distorted results of non-rigorous conjecture. The fact that other uncommitted minds are directed in the same channel mitigates but does not entirely ease the tension. A proper measure of this tension, however, keeps alive the "growing edge" of science, the edge from which sufficient energy is tensed to press continually the test of facts rather than allowing an easy but unperceptive complacency or a hypertrophy of tension that can cripple or block creative development.

³⁰ Kluckhohn, 1950, p. 254.

SECTION TWO

SECTION TWO

THE material in this Section documents and illustrates the analyses presented in the preceding section. First comes Jim Edwards' account of the Galilean mission for which he was interpreter; the second part gives sample life-story analyses of persons repre-

sending types of value shift. Some passages have been omitted when they were repetitious without making any substantial contribution. A fuller text is on file with the Values Study, Harvard University.

JIM EDWARDS' ACCOUNT ¹

PHASE ONE

Well, three years ago on December 28th is the first time I came to Rimrock. Fry had come first and moved into Donald Cox's house on November 16th, and I lived in the old house behind Donald Cox's with my wife. On January first we started to visit the hogans.

First we visited Theresa's mother, the Bacas, Victor, Nanabah, and other families close to Rimrock. We told them about the gospel. We brought clothes for the people and candy for the children. We told them that we are missionaries, come to bring the gospel to these Rimrock people. We told them that it won't be long now its going to be the end. If you accept the Lord you won't have to worry about any of your troubles or anything. If you change your ways you'll meet Jesus when the time is come. This is what we've come to tell you about. We told them that if they accept Jesus, they're supposed to go to church every Sunday, leave your old ways and sings behind and get the new. Throw away all this smoking, liquors, and all those superstitions, and just pray to Jesus. If they didn't accept Jesus, then when the time is come, that they will go straight down to Hell. He told the people that it's just fire down there. But Jesus can forgive our sins. We all sinned, and Jesus is the only one who can forgive that.

Ken Chamiso and some of the other people were very much interested and they all said, "Maybe when we hear more about it. We don't know anything about it now."

Some of the medicine men were not very

friendly to Fry. Once Old Man Mr. Moustache came to our place, and Fry called me to interpret. Mr. Moustache asked the question: "Where did you come from?" Fry said, "We come from California. We want to bring the gospel to you people. That's why we moved in here." And the old man said, "Do you have permission?" Fry answered, "The headman of the Galilean church sent us over here. That's why we've come. We're not going to rob you or take any of your possessions. We just want to bring God's word to you. Do you like to hear some story of the Bible?" The old man said yes, and Fry began: "God made the earth, and the heaven, and everything what we see. He even made us, in his image. So that's why he expects us to worship him."

Then the old man wants to tell his story too: "I know the story how we came. We came out of the ground. That's the way our old parents told us. I believe in the sun, and the moon, and the four holy mountains, and I worship them. I don't know about God. Our old parents didn't tell us to worship some other things. So we can keep our old ways. I'm a medicine man and I sing for these Rimrock people." And he showed Fry his medicine bag and corn pollen.

Fry says, "Those things aren't going to help you. God makes all those things that you worship. God really made us—that's why he expects us to worship Him. Your life is not going to be long. You must accept Jesus, then it's going to be another life afterward. If you

¹ This document is abridged to about one-fifth of the size of Jim Edwards' original story. Principal omissions are redundancies of dialogue types. Minor

corrections in English usage have been made to promote readability.

really give yourself to Jesus, then you can meet him in Heaven where there is a better life than this is."

And then the old man just laughed. "I don't think I'll throw my (medicine) bag away. As long as I live I'm going to keep my bag. Our old parents didn't tell us to throw it away, so I can keep it."

The only medicine man who was interested in what Fry told was Jani Miguel. Jani visited us and asked some questions: "A few years ago there was some missionary was coming around to visit my home. He said that the end is going to be come, not very long from now. We have just been looking for it. It doesn't seem as if the end is going to come. I'm a medicine man, and I pray to the mountains. I don't know if I can't accept what you're telling or not. Who's God? Where's all this Bible written? How was God born? Who were his mother and father? Where did he come from, and where did all this happen? My stories are different from yours, so I don't know if I can accept yours or not."

Then Fry explained: "The Bible is written by the Jewish people. They were God's children. God is the beginning and beginning—never born—everlasting and everlasting again. The moon and the sun will not help you because God makes all those." Then he gave Jani some clothes, and Jani went home. He said he didn't know if he could accept that or not. Maybe if he heard more about it.

We started to visit some of the people who lived a little further from Rimrock. We visited the Mario family and called all the group together. We told them the story of the Bible, and how we're going to bring God's word to them. We told them that we all sin because our first parents fell, and that Jesus is the only one who can forgive sin. Mario was very interested, and Fry asked if we could hold services for the people who lived around there at his hogan on Sundays. Mario said all right. We always had a word of prayer for the people before we left, so we had a word of prayer for the Marios. Then we visited Jo Miguel (President of the Rimrock group).

We told Jo Miguel and his family about how God created everything, even us, and how he is the only one who can help us. Fry told Jo that the medicine men couldn't help, but only

God could. Then Jo said, "When we hear the story like that about changing the ways, we'll have to try to see if some of them will change their ways. I don't know if I accept it or not. We're going to have a meeting down at the day school and you come down and talk to the people about it." Then we just asked Jo if we can have a word of prayer for them, and we started back to Rimrock.

Fry says, "I think it's a good idea to ask the people for a little land to build a mission. I think it's a good chance to ask them at the meeting."

We went to the meeting, and there were a lot of people there to talk about the problem of the co-op store. When their meeting was over, we asked about the land. Bill Begay was the headman at that time, and he okayed it. Bill Begay talked to the people and they were all very much satisfied about building a mission there. So Margarita gave five acres to build the mission on.

Then we started to work a little at a time on building the mission. At first we just hauled material out to the Day School and visited hogans too.

Then we visited Charles Yazi the same day. He was real interested too. He said: "I don't know, maybe some of the people may think the missionary is not good. But I think the missionary is good. I was against the missionary a long time ago. That time I used to have a rough life. I thought that I was a great big man—nobody will explain anything to me about my life. That's the way I thought at that time. And I used to fight with the Mormons too. But now you tell me that everything is going to be good if you accept Jesus. And you tell how to change the ways. I think I can do that. I used to have the first wife, and then she died. Then I had the second wife, and she died. Then I had a third wife again, and she died again. And now all those three wives, when I go to sleep at night, come and pull my blanket off me. What will cure that?"

Fry says: "If you believe in Jesus, Jesus will take care of everything and take all that you're dreaming about away from you. You must pray to God instead of to what God makes."

And then Charles Yazi right away accepts the Lord. He says: "I'm going to pray to God, and if it's really true, maybe the ghost won't

pull the blanket off me again. When my second wife died, the medicine man sang over me and I thought the ghost will leave me. But it's still on. And after my three wives are gone there's another medicine man sang over me. Then it didn't cure anything. It was still the ghost that pulled that blanket off me, every night time."

Fry says that if he accepts Jesus and really believes, everything will be changed. Then we just had a word of prayer for Charles and we went on to Haske Chamiso's place.

We told Haske Chamiso about how God creates everything, even us, and they were sure interested in what we told them. Haske's wife was sick at that time, and Mr. Moustache was singing over her. Fry told Haske's wife, "I don't think the medicine man will cure you of your sickness." Then he told her about changing the ways. He said, "You are very sick. I wish you'd accept Jesus, so that if anything happens—if you die—you'll meet Jesus. In this world there is a lot of trouble, lot of sickness. But if you accept Jesus, you can go to a better place when you die."

Haske's wife said, "I will accept it." Then we had a prayer for her. At that time Mr. Moustache had finished his sing and went home. Then Haske's wife accepted Jesus. Fry says: "If you want to accept Jesus, just get down on your knees and pray to Jesus—everything what you have done—just tell it to Jesus. And he'll forgive your sins. That's the way to accept Jesus. Then pray to him all the time, instead of praying to the mountains. Jesus is the only one who can help you, if you believe in him." She said she would pray to Jesus all the time. Fry was very happy that we met one person that was saved. That's what he said.

After two days Haske came down to Rimrock and he said, "My wife is very sick." We start to talk to Haske, and Fry told him, "You have to accept Jesus again, and to pray to him. Your wife accepted, but you must accept too." Then Haske got down on his knees and prayed. He didn't make his prayer long—just a few words. His prayer said "The Lord Jesus, we hear that you are the one who can help us. I want you to make my wife better." That's what he said. That's the time that Haske accepted Jesus.

We went to visit Evelyn Pablo. When we

came to her place she told Fry that she belonged to the Christian Reformed church. She joined that a long time ago when she was going to school in the mission school at Rehoboth. Fry said it's the same. So Evelyn said: "All right, I'll go over to the mission every Sunday." Evelyn was very much interested, and Joseph was interested about the gospel too. At that time he wasn't married to Margarita. We gave a lot of clothes to Evelyn.

Then we went to visit Margarita and we told them something about the gospel. She said that she is a Mormon. Fry said that the Mormon is a false religion. "This is really the true Bible from God's word that we're going to tell you about. The Mormon is not true. Their book doesn't amount to anything—it's a story about Joseph Smith. I don't believe in that book. Joseph Smith was crazy."

I think Margarita believed all he said. And he told her about the Mormons: "The Mormons do all kinds of bad things. Things that the Lord doesn't want us to do. They go to movies and to bad places where temptation is. Look what they are doing down at Rimrock. They have their own church there, and they have movies and dances in the church. In our religion we don't have it like that." And Margarita said: "I think I'll join your church." Then we gave her some clothes, and some candy to her children. And we told her about changing the ways. Fry was urging her to become saved—and give herself to the Lord. And she says: "Maybe someday."

The next day we visited Mr. Moustache. The first time (above) when Mr. Moustache had come to visit Fry, he wanted a gun, and he had heard that Fry wanted to sell a "30-30." But Johnny Blanco had bought it already, and left a ten dollar deposit. Mr. Moustache wanted to put all the money up for the gun right then, but Fry told him that he was sorry, but that the gun was bought already. Mr. Moustache didn't say anything—he just walked out. This time when we came to visit him he was sitting outside his hogan. The first thing he said was: "You didn't do the favor that I asked you in the first place." Fry said: "What was that?" And Mr. Moustache said: "I was asking you for the gun, and you didn't want to give it to me."

Fry explained that it was already bought,

and that was why he couldn't give it to him. But from then on Mr. Moustache wasn't friendly to Fry.

Fry asked Mr. Moustache if he wanted to hear some stories about God's word. Mr. Moustache said: "I know all kind of stories." He didn't tell us all right, but Fry started to talk to him. He says: "You're getting real old now, your life is going to be short. If you accept Jesus, you will go to a happy place . . ." And the old man said "Where is the happy place? I pray to the mountains, and that has helped me all through my life until now. And I'm trusting in this (showing his little corn pollen bag)." Fry said, "Those things that you have in your hand, God makes them. They don't amount to anything." Mr. Moustache was a little bit mad about it, and he said "All different tribes have their own religion. So you can keep your own religion and I can keep my own religion too."

Then we visited Frank Miguelito, and we called all the group together. We told them some about the gospel—how God creates everything. When we were telling them that story, Frank Miguelito's brother-in-law, Paul Goody, came there drunk. Then he said "I know everything about the gospel—don't tell us about it." Then Fry says "If you know everything about it, you shouldn't drink. I wish that you would change your ways too." Then Paul Goody said "I believe in the Navaho doctors. And I believe in your religion too. I believe in both sides." Fry said "It can't be worked. God expects us to serve only him. Sometime you come down to the mission and we'll tell you about the gospel, and how to change your ways. If you have God's word in one hand, and the Navaho superstitions in the other hand, it can't be worked."

Then Fry tried to make his testimonial to that man about how he came saved. He said, "I used to smoke. I used to go where there was all kinds of dancing, and saloons, and all those. But the Lord touched my heart, and he told me to change my ways. So I changed my ways, and I never drink no more, never go to dances no more, never smoke no more. This is what it means to change the ways. So I wish you'd do that too." Paul Goody says, "All right, I'll do it," and then Fry told him to come down sometimes, and we will tell more about it. We had

a word of prayer for those folks, and then we went on to Mike Pablo's mother.

When we visited her, Ricardo was there. He wasn't satisfied about what Fry was saying. When Fry told him that the stuff he was using didn't amount to anything, Ricardo said, "We're really relying on this stuff. It's not made fifty or a hundred years ago. It's more than a hundred years that it's been made. But it's still in my hand. Our old first parents got this, and they said, my old parents told me, to keep this and use it. They didn't tell us that someday to leave it alone. If I die, somebody else is going to use it again. So I don't know about your religion. It's not for us. It's for your own self."

Then Fry started to talk again. He said, "As long as you are using this, when your time is come, you're going straight to Hell. Because God doesn't want us to worship all the things that God made."

The next day we saw Ricardo again at Johnny Blanco's place, he wasn't very friendly to Fry. He said, "Are you going to say throw this away again?" (And he got the corn pollen out.) And Fry said, "Well, God makes all those things, so God wants us to worship him, instead of what you worship." And then when we started to tell Johnny Blanco about the gospel, Ricardo just walked out. At that time Johnny Blanco's wife was going to have a baby, pretty soon. Fry's wife knew about it, and she took a lot of baby stuff to her. Then Fry told Johnny and his wife to become saved. They didn't say anything, but they were interested. So we started to visit Haske, Charles Yazi, Theresa's mother, and the other people who live around there. At each place we told them about the gospel.

We told Jani more about the gospel, and he was very interested. We told him about how to change the ways, and when we were through he said, "I begin to realize that I think it's true what the Bible says." Then Fry says, "You can give yourself to the Lord anytime . . . even now in this hogan." Jani says "Maybe someday I'll accept the Lord." Then Fry prayed for Jani.

The next day we packed lunch again and went way out to Gordo's place. Gordo wasn't much interested in what Fry said about the gospel. He said that he was a medicine man,

and that Navaho medicine men really do help when a person is sick. He asked Fry: "Many times I have sickness and medicine man sings over me and I get well. Does your story make us well sometime if we accept it?" Fry said: "Yes—it really does help if you believe."

Then we visited Olla Jackson's place and called all the group together. We told them about the gospel—how God created everything, and about how our first parents fell. Olla Jackson said, "Where does this story come from? In our story we know where it comes from."

Fry said that it comes from the Jews. Olla Jackson says, "How come if it comes from the Jews that you're explaining it to us right here? If it's given to the Jews it's not for us."

And Fry told him, "Did you ever hear about the Gospel?" Olla said no. Fry said, "That's why we've come here, so that if anybody doesn't know about the gospel we can explain it to them." Olla said, "We have our own religion too—I'm a medicine man." Fry said, "God is the only one who can help you. Not those mountains or any kind that you use." "Well," said Olla, "that's the way our old parents told us to worship. They didn't tell us that somebody was going to come in and say worship Jesus, and that we should give up our own religion. They didn't say that—so I don't know anything about what you're worshipping. But I know what I'm worshipping."

Fry just prayed for those people—gave them some clothes, and we went on again.

When it was heavy snow and we couldn't visit much, the people still came to visit us. Walter Blackbird and his wife came, and they asked for some clothes. Fry gave them some, and he also gave them a good dinner and some pictures of Jesus. Charles Yazi came, and Baca, and Evelyn and Joseph.

Once when there was a lot of snow, Johnny Blanco came on a sled, and said he'd like to see his wife down at the hospital in Tselizhine. His baby was born dead there and he wanted to see his wife. She was all right, and the doctor told Johnny that it was o.k. to take her home. So we brought her back home, and Johnny followed from Rimrock on the sled. At that time Johnny became saved. He gave himself to Jesus then, and his wife too.

When we were coming home we heard that

Joseph Pablo had turned over his truck. Nobody was hurt, but the truck was still turned over in the arroyo. We started toward his home and when we got near there we saw the truck turned over in the ditch. There were eight sacks of flour piled on top of the ditch. While we were looking at the truck, Joseph came up to us. He said that the steering had locked somehow, and he had to run into the ditch. He said he had no brakes. Then Joseph told us that he had to hire somebody or some car to pull his pickup out of there. We came back home, and the next morning we went back out there.

The pickup was still tipped over, and there were four men there. With me and Fry it made six men, and we tipped it over. We had a big cable with us, and we pulled it out with our truck. Joseph said, "You helped me a lot, so I can pay you—ten dollars." Fry said, "No. You can keep your money. We're not going to skin you Navaho people. We've come to help you." Then we just went back home.

When we got home Victor was there. Victor said he wants to ask a question about religion. He said, "We had a missionary among us a long time ago, and he always had a cigar in his mouth, how come that you're against all the smoking?" He showed the Bull Durham to Fry and asked, "How come you're against all this? Our old parents told us that if you don't smoke you're not a man. And they told us that the holy people used to smoke a long time before, and that's why we smoke now. It makes us think. The old people told us that the tobacco makes you think—if you smoke, you think about something. How come you want us to throw it away?"

Fry said, "When you become saved, you must leave everything like that alone. I used to smoke a pipe, but when I got saved I just threw it back, and I didn't look at it again. This is what it means to become saved—and leave everything alone."

And Victor said, "I don't want to throw this away." And he was trying to roll some of that Bull Durham. Fry told him no smoking in there. "You smoke outside if you want." And Fry is very sorry that the medicine men are always against him.

Then that night John Nez and Charlie Miguel came in. They were drunk.

And John said, "We've had the Mormons here for a long time, and how come you missionaries came in? I don't think the Mormons will be satisfied with you." And Fry said, "We heard that the Mormons are just robbing you. Yeah, they've been here for a long time, but they just skin you. We aren't going to rob you, or reduce anything of your possessions. We just bring you God's word. Mormon's book is false religion—it's the story of Joseph Smith. Joseph Smith was crazy. Joseph Smith doesn't save a person. He just died the same as we do. We're trying to tell you about Jesus. Jesus was resurrected, and he went back to Heaven. Jesus is alive now, and Joseph Smith is not alive—he just died . . . and you believe in those things. We are bringing you the true God's word."

And John said, "We are getting along with the Mormons pretty good. You've just moved in lately. How come you talk so big to us?" And Charlie said, "We don't like you. I like the Mormons, not any other religion, because the Mormons have been among us for a long time."

Fry said, "I don't believe in what the Mormons are doing. They do all kinds of bad things in their church. The Galileans don't do that—we keep our religion holy. In the Mormon church they're doing all kinds of things—drinking, dancing, movies, and other bad things. This is what we're against." Charlie says, "I like those things—that's why I'm a Mormon. I like to drink. I don't know about your ways, but the Mormons have been among us for a long time."

It was cold weather then, and Fry gave Charlie and John coats. They left, and Fry told them that he wished they would change their ways—change their life and become a Galilean. We prayed for those two.

When we visited people we always brought medicine for the sick—Milk of Magnesia, aspirins, liniment, and a few other things. We visited some of the Blackbird family—Walter Blackbird, Vincente Blackbird, and then Charlie Blackbird's mother-in-law. At that time Jim Roanhorse lived with that old lady, and when Fry asked if we could call the group together, she said, "You can call Jim's wife, but I'm scared of Jim Roanhorse." Then Fry started to ask questions about that superstition. He said,

"Why are you afraid of your son-in-law?" The old lady said, "If we see our son-in-law, pretty soon we won't have no more sight in our eyes. That's why we're afraid of that."

Fry said, "We don't believe in that." She said, "Maybe you don't believe it, but we do. That's the way our old parents told us."

Fry said, "I want to tell you what we believe. If you accept what I tell you, then you don't have to be scared of anything. Even if a lot of trouble and sickness comes to us—just ask God to help. He can really help us. We believe in one God who helps us, if we only believe in him. You are getting old, and your life is not going to be long now, so I'd like to tell you about how sin came into the world and how to be saved." Fry told her the story about how our first parents fell, and the old lady said, "This is the first time we heard about this and it sounds strange to us. We don't know anything about it. Maybe if we hear more about it we can accept it." Fry said that we would visit them again, and that they could come down to visit us and hear some more about the gospel too. We gave them some clothes, and then we prayed for them, and we started on again.

Then one day Eddie Cochise came to visit us in Rimrock. We told him how God creates everything, and how first man and woman fell. So we explained to him why we all sin now, and that's why God sent Jesus, his son, into this world. If we believe in Jesus, he can deliver us from sin.

Eddie Cochise asked who made up this story, how did God come into this world, and some other questions about God's word. And so Fry told him, "God is not born—he is everlasting life. And this Bible is not our word, it's God's word. The story was first given to the Jews, because they were God's children. Then it spread out—and now it has spread all over the world."

Eddie Cochise said, "I can tell you some about our story too. Our story is just the same like you say about the first man and woman. They came out of the ground. And you said that God created all kinds of things. In my story at the time that first man and first woman came out of the ground, everything was planted then—that's what I know from my story too."

Then Fry said, "I don't know if its true or not. You know some of those old people didn't know anything about it at that time, and our story is not a hundred or three hundred years old—it's six thousand years old. We heard a lot of stories from the old Navaho people, and they're always different. God's word doesn't change. It's always the same. You know how I told you how God creates everything? If you go to another missionary and ask how everything was created, they'll tell you just the same as I told you. God's word is always the same—that's why it's true. The Navaho stories are always different."

Then Eddie Cochise said, "I think that our religion is true too. I pray to the mountains, and the earth, and the heaven. This is how my parents told me. I think that your religion is for the white people."

Fry said, "It's not for white people, it's God's word—that's why it's true. If you believe in your old religion you're going to be everlastingly lost."

"What does it mean to be everlastingly lost?" Eddie Cochise asked.

Fry said, "Everlastingly lost means to go straight down to Hell. We believe that there is a Hell, and if a person does not accept the Lord, and doesn't change his ways when his time is come, he'll go straight to Hell."

Eddie Cochise said, "I can tell you where we go when we die. In our story we know about it too."

Fry said, "I don't believe that stuff. You know, in the early days maybe one of the old Navaho men didn't get the story right—that's why all your stories are way different than God's word. All these stories are different, but God's word is true."

Then Eddie Cochise wanted to go home. He said he didn't believe in God's word. "Maybe you and I will tell each other our stories again sometime." That's what he said.

The weather was pretty bad for a while then and we just stayed home. But then when it cleared up we went out to visit around Margarita's outfit again. We went to Margarita's place and Fry shook hands to all those children and to Margarita. Margarita's sister was there, and also Wilson Gomez and Emily Gomez. There was a big picture of Jesus leading the

sheep hanging up inside there, and we told them a story about that.

Fry told the people, "We are like sheep. Sometimes the sheep are going out, and then they are going together. That's the way we are if we are become Christians—all together like those sheep are all together. If we don't want to accept Jesus, then we are like one or two of those sheep who go out from the bunch off by themselves. What is going to happen to those sheep if they go into the woods by themselves? They might fall into a ditch, or the coyote might get it. That's the way the devil gets us—like the coyote gets those sheep. And if the sheep gets into the ditch, then he can't get out because he ran away from the shepherd. That's the way it is if we're lost—something might happen to us. That's the way our story is—we're all lost like sheep, and Jesus is our shepherd. This is what Jesus explained to us, and we must turn ourselves back to him. We are all gone astray, and to become saved means to turn ourselves back to Jesus, our shepherd."

Then he told them to change the ways so as not to be lost. "Somebody is looking out for us—that's Jesus."

They were all very interested, and Fry gave some candy to the children when he was through talking about the gospel. He gave them candy because they were quiet and sat still while we talked. We gave some clothes to the family.

On the way home we stopped at Steve Chamiso's mother's place. There was a man there, her son, named Dan Chamiso, and he was kind of blind. The old lady told us that three years ago they took him to Albuquerque and the doctor examined his eyes. "We let him stay there for about three months and then we came back to Albuquerque. The doctor told us that they gave him all kinds of medicine, but it's still the same. Then we brought him home and the medicine man sang all different kinds of sings over him. But he is still the same."

And Fry says, "Only one that can help you is Jesus. If you pray to him and turn yourself to him, I think that the Lord will answer prayer. So now we're going to pray for Dan so that the Lord will heal his eyes."

Then that lady had sickness too—around her

waist. Fry asked her the question, "When did it start?" She said about six years ago she fell off a bronco and she thought she just strained her back. But now it still hurts her. "And I think it's when I sit down working every day—I think that's what causes it too. But I have to weave every day—that's what I'm living by."

And Fry said, "Even those sickness—God will heal it. If you really mean to pray to him, God will help us and heal us." And Fry told them about the story how Jesus healed all the sickness the time when he was on this earth. "In this world is a lot of trouble, lot of sickness, and we get tired every day. But if we accept the Lord, when our time is come we will go to happy place—no sickness, no trouble, no getting tired. When Jesus was on this earth he was walking all over the countryside from place to place healing the sickness and helping the people; and preaching around. So today Jesus is still healing you. We believe in him. We pray to him every day, and we can pray for you too." Then Fry and his wife prayed for that lady, and gave them some clothes.

Then we started to visit Johnny Blanco, and Susie Jackson, and Haske. Last time we were at Haske's we took his wife to the hospital. We heard from the doctor that she had an operation in Albuquerque, and that she is going to be all right. Then Fry told the old lady (Haske's wife's mother), "See that the Lord really does answer prayer. When Haske's wife was being sent over to the hospital we prayed for her. We told the Lord that he should help when she had the operation. And we always pray for her, and the Lord really answers prayers. That is the way the Lord helps you if you really believe in him."

While we visited people at that time we were telling them about the church we were going to build. We were getting the material already, and Fry asked for help in building the church. He always said, "The Lord expects us to help one another, so we can all work on the Lord's house. It's not going to be my church, it's going to be the Navahos' church."

When we were at Jani's place we talked to his wife's mother. We told her about how Jesus helped the poor and the sick when he was on this earth. And Fry said, "If anything comes up to us—trial or temptation or sickness,

just ask Jesus for help. And he doesn't say—you are old, I have nothing to do with you. He can help anybody. But you must believe it first, and give yourself to him."

Then he asked the old lady, "Do you believe in him?" And the old lady said yes. And she said, "I believe in both sides—your religion and my religion." Fry said, "That can't be done. You can't have the Lord's religion and your old religion in both hands at the same time." "Well," the old lady said, "I hear your prayer and you always say heavenly. We always say heavenly too when we pray, so it sounds the same to me." Fry said, "Yeah, you say heavenly, but you don't say heavenly father. We must pray to our father. Our father means that he is everybody's father. He is the one that makes us. That is God."

And the old lady said, "When we pray we say Earth is our mother, and Heaven is our father. I think it's the same."

Fry said, "We don't pray to the earth. We pray to the true God—our father in heaven." And the lady said, "I think I'll pray to both." Fry said, "That can't be done. You mustn't serve two masters. We must serve one master." Then the old lady said maybe when she heard more about it. And then we just prayed for them, gave them some clothes and went on.

We were talking a lot about building at that time, and we started to haul some gravel out to the Day School. Then some sand and lumber.

We began to mix the cement and pour it into the form for the foundations. Ken Chamiso, Jo Miguel, and Frank Gomez were helping us at that time, and sometimes Wilson Gomez too. Fry gave them good meals and lots of clothes to bring home. Ken Chamiso worked the most of any of these, and one day we went out to visit Ken Chamiso's home.

All Ken Chamiso's family was there, and we called the group together and asked if they would like to hear some about the gospel. They said yes. Fry knew at that time that Ken Chamiso had two wives, so he wanted to tell about the ten commandments, and the Lord's word. And Fry read the first four commandments: "First, I am the Lord thy God, and thou shalt have no other strange [*sic*] before me. Second, thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain. Third, remember to keep holy the Sabbath day. Fourth, honor thy father and

thy mother.” That’s as far as we went with Ken Chamiso’s family, and then Fry explained what they meant.

He said: “The first commandment means that God makes us, and you are not to worship any kind of image. You must worship me—this is what God says. And the second commandment—thou shalt not take the name of thy Lord in vain—you know that lot of people cuss with the Lord’s word. If you cussing the Lord’s word in vain, like we hear some of these young boys are cussing with the Lord’s word, then you going to be punished for everlasting when you die. Everlastingly punished means that you’re going to be at a place where it’s burning, all the time. And the third commandment means that we must do our work six days during the week, and the Sabbath day is on Sundays. We must keep it holy. We must attend to where the Lord’s word is being preached, and the Lord wants us to come to church every Sunday. He expects us to come to his house, to keep the Sabbath holy. And the fourth commandment means you must obey your father and mother until you’re big enough to live yourself.”

After that we just went home. They were sure interested in what we told them.

Fry was tired from working on the cement, so we just stayed at home and rested that week. Some people came to visit us, and Mrs. Fry played some Navaho hymns on the phonograph. Some of the records were testimonials in Navaho. One told about a girl who came to church often, but somehow she quit coming. The missionary asked her why she didn’t come to church any more, and she said, “It’s far off to go to church, that’s why I don’t attend. And I have a little baby, and when I attend the mission the baby always cries. That’s why I don’t come.” Then the missionary said: “The baby is nursing. The baby is hungry for the nursing, and that’s the way we’re hungry for the gospel. So you must come to the mission to hear God’s word.”

We were almost finished building my house. We were going to put in the flooring and the wall sheets. And when I came home at night my wife always said, “How come you’re working all day interpreting, and sometimes working pretty near until midnight, and work-

ing hard on the building too, and you only get sixty dollars a month? We can’t make no money, so I wish we’d quit.” Finally I told her all right, and I told Fry that we were going to leave at the end of the week.

Well, finally we left on the mail truck for Gallup, and we took the bus to Rocky Point. We walked the thirteen miles from the bus stop to my wife’s place because I didn’t have any car at that time. The next day I wanted to go back to Rimrock, but my wife said no. She wanted me to go out and get a job somewhere. I got a job to work at an ice plant in Denver, and I went up there by bus. I worked there for a month and a half packing ice. I sure made money up there—nine dollars a day. We iced vegetables. When the job finished I came back, and they told me that Fry had been looking for me all over. I didn’t care. I brought five hundred and sixty five dollars home with me, and I felt pretty good. So my wife was satisfied about that job too. I bought a car for \$375, and after a couple of days I left for California to do the same job with the icing. That was in the ice plant in Stockton. It was \$8.50 per day. In five more weeks I came back again, and I heard Fry had been there about four times looking for me. Then I got a job on the railroad at Manuelito. When I was working there for close to a month, Fry heard I was there and he came to see me. He wanted me to come back and interpret for him. That was during the war, and we worked every day. So I told him I’d work through the month, and I’ll see—maybe I’ll go back then. I didn’t agree with him when he talked to me. But finally at the end of the month when he came back, I returned to Rimrock with him. That was nearly the end of October.

When I got back he was almost finished with his house, but he hadn’t worked any more on mine. We finished mine in two days, and then we put the plaster board in his. Jim Domingo helped, and Fry payed them three dollars a load for hauling wood.

Then the first snows came of the winter, and we stayed home most of the time. We had moved out to the new mission, and began to hold services every Sunday to tell the people about the gospel.

PHASE TWO

Well, at that time Jo Miguel was really interested about the gospel, and I think he told the people that he is really interested and that he thought it was true that they could accept that story. So then a lot of people started coming to the mission when we started to hold our Sunday services out there.

The first service there we told the people about love thy neighbor as thyself. If anyone who hates you, or you hate him, forgive him. This is what the Lord wants us to do. The Lord doesn't hate anybody. Even when we do a lot of bad things, lots of things that he doesn't want us to do, but he still loves us. This is what it means to forgive those who are hate you. But if we hate anybody, or if we didn't ask the Lord to forgive our sins, if our death comes we are going to be everlastingly lost. Then Fry had some prayer for those folks there, and then some of them made their testify.

Jani Miguel was the first one to stand up and say he's very interested. He said, "We wish to hear more about it. You know that the Mormons have been among us for many years—years and years. They didn't tell us about the interesting story. They just got all our lands. They really skinned us. We used to live all over in this flat where Fry built his house, and we have services there. We used to live all over there—way down to Rimrock. They took away all our land—the good lands, and we moved up on top of the malapais where we're living now. When I was down at Cox's trading post he mentioned to me about whether I liked the missionary. I told him yes. And then he told me, 'We have a good interesting story too.' And I told him, how come that you have been among us for a long time and you never show us your interesting story. Now that the Galilean missionary came in you're trying to stick your head up now. And I asked him, how come you take away all the Navahos' land and then you want to tell the interesting story to me now? I don't think that's fair. And I told him that I'm going to come to the mission every Sunday."

And Haske's wife stood up and she told the people about herself. She said: "Last fall I was very sick, so sick that I thought I was going

to die. And then this missionary came to my home and prayed for me. He took me down to the hospital, and the doctor told me that I was going to die. And the missionary told me that God is going to help you. At that time I didn't know about God. He said that God is going to help me at that time. When they went back home from taking me to the hospital they prayed for me again. At that time I really thought that I was going to die too, because I hardly had enough strength to move in my bed. Then they took me in an ambulance to Ft. Defiance and they X-rayed me over at Ft. Defiance. They found out right away what seems to be the trouble on me. Then they sent me over to the hospital at Albuquerque. There they operated on me in two days after I came there. And I think they were praying for me at the time that I was in the hospital. So I really sure believe it now—that the Lord really helped me, because that doctor told me I was going to die, but the missionary told me that the Lord could help me. Now I am still alive. I came back from the hospital and I am getting better. I'm still kind of weak, but I'm getting better, and I'm going to come to the church service every Sunday to hear more about the Lord's word. Maybe you people won't believe it, but I saw the result, that the Lord really helped me." That's what Haske's wife said.

And then her mother stood up and she said: "It's true what she told you. About three times the missionary came down to my home while she was in the hospital, and they always told me that they were praying for my daughter. I think it's really true what the missionary is telling us, about God. One time I had a dream. Something was very white standing right over me, and right away I thought the missionary told us about this—just the way I saw it in my dream. Then I woke up and I began to think . . . Maybe the Lord is really calling me—to be one of his children. This is the way I thought about it."

When the old lady was through talking Fry said: "The Bible says that someday this is all going to happen. It's true what Jesus told his disciples about what we're going to see someday. Some of those things are happening now. We saw the wars, we heard that they're having

earthquakes, and the people are beginning to dream—beginning to see the visions. That's the way it's going on now. And Jesus told his disciples that if this shows, that means that I'm going to come back soon. This is going to be the sign." That's what Fry told the people.

Then Fry just had a word of prayer. Fry gave them a cup of coffee and some crackers, and then the people began to go home. Charles Yazi was there but didn't say anything.

That week we just stayed home. People came to visit us, and we told them some about the gospel. The next Sunday Charles Yazi told all the people around his way to come, and lot of them came.

That Sunday we talked about the Ten Commandments. But once again we just went up to the Fourth Commandment, because we knew that some of them had two wives, and we didn't want them to think that we were talking against them right away. Then Fry told them some scriptures from God's word. He read "Let not your heart be troubled. Believe in me, and also my father. In my father's house there are many mansions. If it were not so I wouldn't tell you. I will come again and take you unto myself, and you may be also there."

Then he told the people, this is what it means: "If you really believe in the Lord, and give yourself to the Lord, then if any trouble comes up to you, don't be afraid. Just believe in me. This is what Jesus said. If you believe in him you're not going to have hard trouble. We don't have to be afraid of anything if we believe in Him. And Jesus said: 'In my father's house there are many mansions.' That means that someday we're going to be in that house, that everything will be ready for us up in heaven. If we don't believe it, Jesus won't prepare a place for us. When Jesus was on this earth he told that to his disciples and many other people. And he didn't mean it only for that time. If we believe in him today, he will prepare our place for us too. This is what Jesus means. If we don't believe in him, who is preparing our place for us, the Devil will take us, and we're going to be everlastingly lost. So it's up to you. There are only two ways—if you accept Jesus you will go to the happy life. If you reject Him, you will go to the bad life.

In God's word it tells us that Jesus told the people that he will come again some day. He promised us that he is going to come again, and we must be ready. If you don't accept Jesus, it will be too late when he comes. Now is the time to accept Him. Not *some day*. Some day is going to be too late. So if anyone wants to accept the Lord, come and kneel down in front, and you can ask the Lord to forgive your sins, that's the way to accept the Lord."

Jani and his wife, and Audrey Mario and Nancy Baca came forward. They wanted to give themselves to the Lord. Fry asked for more. He said, "Maybe next week or next time will be too late. Now is the time to accept the Lord." And only those four came forward. Fry prayed for those who came forward, and they prayed too. They asked the Lord to forgive their sins. Fry told them to stand up and testify about what the Lord has done for them.

Jani was the first to make his testimonial. He said, "I was a medicine man. Now I'm going to give up all those things. This is two times I gave myself to the Lord now. The first time was in my own hogan. That's the time I gave up all my old ways. Many times some person comes to my home. They want me to sing for them. I told them that I gave up all those things. I'm a Christian now, so ask somebody else. No more for me. This is the way I've told many persons. Now today I've come forward again. I really mean it, I give myself to the Lord. It's very interesting what I hear here today, and I think that all of you think the same way too. Every Sunday I'm going to attend church to hear more about it. I live a long way off—about fifteen miles, but I'm going to come to the mission every Sunday."

Fry was very happy about what Jani testified. Then Jani's wife said, "When the first time we gave ourselves to the Lord, we didn't even fuss about it that my husband gave himself to the Lord. Right away I thought that I was going to give myself to the Lord too. So we both have a happy life now. We used to have a lot of sickness all the time. Now we don't have the sickness any more. The time when we accepted the Lord, we prayed to Him and asked him to help us. To take the sickness away. And he did. It's really true what

they tell you. So now I'm going to stand for the Lord, pray to Him always. That's all I have to say."

And Audrey Mario stood up. She said, "I am very much interested too about the gospel that I hear today. And I like to stick on to it because he tells us everything that we shouldn't be. The time before the missionary came here we were all like scattered sheep. Before we heard the story from the gospel we were wandering around with no one to watch over us or to take care of us. Sometimes we didn't know where we were going, and the road was rough, lot of winding and we didn't know what was going to come up to us after the next turn ahead. Then we knew that someone was watching over us, taking care of us, and showing us the straight road ahead. So now we hear the best story that we can go by. So I like to do that and I hope that you people think the same way."

Well, the next Sunday more people came. Every Sunday more and more were coming at that time. That's the time we talked about the rest of the Ten Commandments. He read them and then he began to explain what they mean.

"You know that to kill is very dangerous. And the Lord says if you kill anybody, you're going to be lost forever, because you're disobeying God's commandment. So you must keep the Lord's commandment—what the Lord means by thou shalt not kill is that you mustn't kill anybody. The next is thou shalt not commit adultery. That means that if you have a wife you're not supposed to have another wife. We hear the Lord's word in the beginning. He made man, and then he made the first woman. And the Lord didn't make two women and one man. He made one each, man and woman, to live together. So since the beginning when the Lord created us he did not make two women for one man. If the Lord made one man and two women, then it would be all right for two women to hold one man. But the Lord doesn't want us to have two women. If you marry with the first wife, and if you get another wife, then the second wife commits adultery. This is what the Lord doesn't want. That's what the Lord meant when he said, thou shalt not commit adultery."

Well, the time when we told them this sermon, every person in the church was watching those men that had two wives, Jo Miguel, Ken Chamiso, and Joseph Pablo. "This is what it means that the Lord doesn't want us to have two wives, or lady to have two men."

Then Fry explained about the other commandments that he read, and he told the people to love thy neighbor as thyself, because the Lord loves us, and if we believe in the Lord we must love each other too.

All those two-wife men were all kind of sad about what we told them that day. That's the time they feel sorry about it, when they went home.

Charles Yazi stood up that time and said, "We listen to the story from God's word closely today again. I think we all understand what the Bible tells us—what we should do. Some of us should do what those commandments say. The things that the missionary tells us are not from his own head. He is not making up his own story. I've really seen it in the Bible. It's written there—God's rule. I don't think that the missionary is talking against you persons that have two wives. It's really from God's word that he is explaining. So you mustn't feel bad about it. It's true what we hear today. And maybe some of you read English. If you don't believe it, look in the Bible where it has been explained to us today. It's truly written there."

Then Doreen Miguel stood up and said: "We hear the God's rule today. It says there thou shalt not commit adultery. Lot of we ladies, we just throw the men behind us—throw them away and get another one. I know that a lot of you ladies are doing this way. Remember what God's rule says—thou shalt not commit adultery. Maybe I committed or not. When I was first married to Albert Chamiso, Albert Chamiso got in love with my sister, and I told Albert Chamiso that I don't think we're going to get along good, so I just want to divorce you. So I did. Then I got this Jani. I married him and we have a happy home now and we have a happy life. Maybe I committed adultery, but I don't know. The time when I gave myself to the Lord I asked the Lord to forgive me all that I have done. And it doesn't

bother me now. So you ladies, some of you that you always commit adultery, marry some man and live a happy life with the man instead of just counting men and just throwing them away one after another.”

This is the time that the mission begins to get upset. Two-wives men and those ladies who commit adultery, they begin to talk against the missionary and against the Christian believers.

Christmas is coming and is going to be on the next Thursday, and Fry told the people that everybody was going to have a present. He told them to bring all the children and we had a lot of candy for them. And Fry told them that we were going to cook some mutton, and that the people should bring their dishes and stuff to eat it. Then he asked who wants to sell some sheep or goats, because we want to buy some for the people to eat on Christmas day. Jani said, “I will sell one.” Charles Yazi said that he would sell two, Nana-bah one, Jim Domingo’s wife (Sally Yazi) one. That made five.

On Thursday we put the meat in the pressure cooker and had a sermon in the morning. We had a big crowd after the service, and we called them all into the Chapter House. There was a big crowd. Lot of people from Willow Fence had come over there too. We told them the story about how Jesus came. We told them the story of how the Saviour is born for all the people in Bethlehem, and how it was according to God’s word. And we know that people think that they are going to have a good time on Christmas day, they do all the dancing, everything that they want to. But God isn’t pleased about that. We should worship Jesus on Christmas day instead of doing all the wicked things. Christmas day is the day that Jesus was born, and we should worship Jesus on that day, instead of going to bad places.

Jim Chamiso was there. This was the first time he came to the mission. At that time he used to work at Window Rock and didn’t come to Rimrock very often. He stood up and said, “This is true what the Bible says. The Saviour means not only the missionary’s Saviour, but for all of us in this house. He is the Saviour of each one of us. Some of we think that it’s fun day. You do a lot of bad things on Christmas day instead of going to where there’s

preaching to the Lord,” and Jim told us about how he goes to the mission at Ganado, and that the Lord’s word was preached the same way over there. He said that he was glad that we had a missionary among us now here at Rimrock.

Then Fry had a word of prayer for all those folks and we passed out the presents. The people were very satisfied about their presents. We gave the children toys, candy, color books and crayons. We gave the girls dolls and candy; the ladies fancy pins with designs on them, jig-saw puzzles, and candy; the men coats, shirts, and pants, and candy. We had a nice day there. Everyone got presents, plenty of food and coffee. Luke Romero was the only one there who was drunk. We gave out about 350 presents and had about 150 left over. We kept some for regular church members who couldn’t show up on that day, but we kept giving the rest of them out to anyone who stopped by the mission for days afterwards.

The next time I held Sunday service I told the people the story about Noah and the flood. I told them how the people all laughed at Noah when he tried to tell them about the Lord’s word, but then how they all drowned while Noah was saved. The people listened closely while I told them that story. We sang some hymns and had a word of prayer, and then Jani stood up and said, “We hear another story about God’s word today—about the flood. It’s really interesting. Now let’s all think about it. How God punished those wicked people. That’s the way he will punish us someday. It seems to me that Noah was a missionary, and now when sometimes we unbelievers laugh at the missionary, it’s the same thing. God will punish us like God sent the flood to the wicked. So we just think about it, and we mustn’t laugh at God’s word.”

Jo Miguel didn’t come any more after that until the next summer, and then he only came until we started to talk about two-wives again. Evelyn and Joseph Pablo still came. They were living across the road at the Day School at that time.

When Dobah visited us she said: “We believe in our religion, and in your religion too. I think that the both stories are equal.” Fry said, “Your stories are way down. God’s story is up high.”

She said, "Well, you say that our religion is not true. A few years back, Charles Yazi was hunting for his horse one day. And he went down into the flat and was hunting his horse over that way. Finally it was pretty near noon, and it started raining, and the lightning struck him. We missed him in the afternoon, and Marcos brought word over to our home that he saw a man and a horse lying down there. Nothing was moving—it looked as though lightning had struck them. So we started to look for some medicine man. There was a medicine man from Willow Fence brought in, and he went over there himself. That was the day after Charles Yazi was struck. He sang for about an hour, and he got hold of Charles Yazi's hand. Charles got up, and he started to walk straight home with him. Now this is what I've seen with our religion. So I think our religion is true too. And one time I was very sick—unconscious for a long time. Suddenly I woke up. A medicine man was singing over me, and it seemed like I had been asleep. So you see our religion is true too. You told us that Jesus did just this same way in the story of the Bible. That's just a story, but in our religion I am seeing all these things that happen."

Fry said, "God's word says that the Devil is helping us too. And the Devil is just as strong as God. As long as we serve the Devil, we're not going to make it to Heaven. All those things that the medicine men say is the Devil's business. And all the things they do."

That's the way Fry always talked when somebody mentioned about their own religion, and how the medicine men make them well.

Well, later that lady got saved, but that time she just said, "I don't know much about it. Maybe when I come to church and hear more I'll believe."

By that time several people had been baptized. Charles Yazi was the first one. Then Audrey Mario, Nancy Baca, Johnny Blanco's wife and baby, Nanabah, Sally Yazi and Jim Domingo. These were the first to become Christians at the mission. Some of the people wanted to be baptized at home, but Fry always said: "Come down to the mission on Sunday and let all the people know about how we baptize you." Often on Sundays Fry asked if anyone wanted to be baptized. Then he would sprinkle the water on their heads, and give a

certificate to those people who were baptized. He always explained that to be baptized doesn't mean that the person is saved. If you are converted, that means that you give yourself to the Lord, and do what God wants you to. That means to change the old ways and leave them behind, as the Lord wants us to do. Only then can a person be saved.

About the time we made the trip to the big missionaries' meetings at El Paso, Charles Yazi, Jo Miguel, and Jani were all too busy to go, but Audrey Mario, Nancy Baca, and Johnny Blanco went with us down to El Paso. There were a lot of missionaries there—all Galilean missionaries—and each of them brought some Indians from all different tribes. At the prayer meeting the second day there, Johnny, Audrey, and Nancy all stood up and made their testimonials in front of all the people there, and I made one too. Then the next day we started back to Rimrock.

At church the next Sunday there were a lot of people there. Nancy and Audrey, and Johnny each stood up and told the people about the trip to El Paso.

Johnny said, "I thought that this was the only place that they had meetings. And I thought that there were only a few Galileans. But I saw a lot of Galileans over at El Paso. And I thought that we were the only Indians that the Galileans are among. But I saw that the Galileans are among all the different tribes. I saw that they were really having a good meeting. No troubles, or anything. But in our ways, any time we have a meeting, or singing, it's always trouble. Lot of drunkards. But the church way there is no trouble about anything. The Christian people are really happy. They all shook hands with us. I saw all those Christians down there were happy and shaking hands. Among us who aren't Christians, we don't care for anybody. And they were really loving the Lord. It was a very interesting church meeting that I saw."

We visited some of the people who live further south too. We visited Yazi Begay, Gordo, and Leon. Gordo always said, "We like to hear your story about your religion, but we don't need any kind of religion for ourselves. We have what our old parents told us to worship. I don't know why they told us to worship those things, but they told us that

when we worship we say Earth is our mother, Heaven is our father, and Darkness is our grandmother. And we worship the holy mountains. They didn't tell us to believe in any other kind of religion if it comes up to you. So we just want to know what your religion is about. We like to hear about it, but you can keep your religion and we can keep our religion."

And Fry always said, "It's not only the white people's religion. It's God's word, that we're telling you. God's word is true, and it never changes."

We found that Leon's little children were sick, so we gave them some cough medicine and some aspirins. Then we explained to them about the picture hanging on the wall. It was Jesus feeding the people. He was talking to his disciples and all the people that followed him around, and when it was time to eat after preaching all day, Jesus fed the people from a basket of bread and fish that one little boy had there. He fed 5,000 people with two fish and five loaves of bread, and when he finished there was still a full basket. And Fry said, "Jesus can do everything. He is God. He does a lot of miracle things."

Leon was interested. He said, "In our religious stories, some of the people say that way back many years ago, the old people used to do a lot of miracle things too. When they sang, they could raise bananas right there where they were singing. And a lot of other things, sometimes when the medicine man shook his gourd, and he could make a feather that he had put in a basket stand up and dance."

Fry said, "Yeah, that's the Devil working. The Devil says 'I am stronger than God.' The Devil says, 'I can do anything I want to.' And the medicine men are serving the Devil. The Devil helps them in all those things. But we are serving the true God."

Leon said, "I don't know what you are talking about. We are scared of the devils. The devil is always against us. I don't think that the devil will help us. That's why the medicine men sing over us—if the devil is bothering us."

Then Leon began to ask, "I wonder who Jesus was? We have a story about two boys—one is na·yé·ne·zyání and the other boy is

tóbážišćíní. The first boy, we have a story about how he killed a lot of animals, and giants too. I wonder if that's Jesus?"

Fry said, "No. Jesus is the son of God. In the earliest times he came from Heaven down into this world. Before that time God always punished the people with fire, or flood, or sickness. But Jesus said to his father up in Heaven, 'Send me down into the earth so that I can die in all the people's place instead of you punishing them.' Then Jesus was born into this world, and when he became a man they hung him on the cross. Jesus died for us. So we must believe in Him, and in what God says—instead of what the man says in this world."

And Leon said, "I believe in my own religion too, because I've seen a lot of singing, from children to old people. Sometimes when they are very sick, I sing for them, and they get well. If we don't believe in our religion, it wouldn't happen like this. It's been given to us a long time ago, so I like to keep my own religion, and I like to hear your story too. Maybe you like to hear my story too?"

Fry said, "That's all the Devil's business." We had a prayer for them and then went on back home.

About that time another Reverend came from Farmington and conducted some classes for learning to read Navaho. Many people came to these classes, and some of them really made a lot of progress in learning to read their own language. And they stood up in church on Sundays and told the people how happy they were that they had a chance to read their own language.

Rosita Mario had come back from the hospital about this time. We were busy building the church building. We went up to visit her one day, and found that she was really sick. She looked thin and weak. They had medicine men there from Red Cliffs, and Crownpoint, as well as local medicine men. Fry's wife brought some food for Rosita, and the first time we went there Rosita recognized us all right. After about our third visit she didn't recognize us any more. She was getting worse. One night Mrs. Fry sat up all night taking care of her so that the Marios could get some sleep. Fry asked the Marios to let him take her to the

hospital. He told them that the medicine men wouldn't help her, they would only kill her. She was unconscious most of the time. Finally they let Fry take her to the hospital, but it was too late. We heard three days later that she had died at the hospital at Ft. Defiance. Eddie Mario came down to the mission to ask Fry to drive over there to pick up Rosita's body and bring it back, and to bury it for them. Fry's truck was in the garage in Rimrock, and had the rear axle out, so he told him that he was sorry, but that he just couldn't go. I took Eddie and his mother and father down to Tselizhine in my Model A Ford, and Thompson drove to Ft. Defiance with them to pick up Rosita's body. By then Fry had the army truck out of the garage, and he drove over to Tselizhine and buried Rosita near there. I think that the Marios thought that Fry didn't want to help them in the first place, though, and after that time Fred Mario and his wife kind of were angry with Fry, and didn't come to the mission often.

One Sunday we told the story about Noah again, and it really made a deep impression. Fry told them that it will be the same as it was with Noah. He closed the doors of his ark, and it was too late even for those people who shouted, "Noah! my brother! my friend! open up for us!" It will be the same for those who don't accept the Lord now. Someday the Bible is going to be shut. All those Christian people who accepted the Lord are going to be picked up and taken to Heaven when he comes again, and then there will be no one left on earth who knows about the Bible, for all who had accepted will be lifted to Heaven. And even husbands and wives will be split up, according to who believes in the Lord. So it's going to be too late someday. Now is the time to accept the Lord.

About that time Audrey Mario and Nancy Baca backed down from the church. They stood up in church and told us why they couldn't come any more—about the arguments they had with Old Man Mr. Moustache, their grandfather. They told us that Mr. Moustache told them not to go to the mission any more. He had said to Audrey, "How come you went to El Paso with the white missionary? Are you a white lady? How come you're leaving your old ways and going with the missionary? You

mustn't join the church religion. That's not your religion. If you want to know about your own religion why don't you ask me questions?"

And Audrey said, "I have that hymn book right here in my hand, and I'm learning some of that. I didn't learn some of your songs, but I can learn some of the missionary's songs. Many years I just can't learn your songs. So I can join the Galilean church and learn these hymns."

And Mr. Moustache said, "I don't think that's necessary for you to do that. If you want to hear some stories, I have the stories. I know the story about the time when man came out of the ground. Why don't you ask me about that instead of asking the missionary?"

And Audrey said, "Your story costs too much. When you tell us the stories it costs us a horse, with a saddle on, and then a piece of buckskin on it. But what we are trying is a free story—it doesn't cost anything—just to believe. This is what the missionary told us."

Then the old man got mad at her, and she told us later that he told her that if she made just a little saddle blanket he would tell her all the stories about our religion. But Nancy who had the same argument with the old man, thought that he would want more after he had told them. But that was the end of Audrey and Nancy's coming to church. We visited their families several times after that to ask why they didn't come to church any more, but they always just said that they were too busy. They never came back again.

Fry was kind of sorry about those girls, and Jani stood up in church one day and told the people that we mustn't listen to what the man says. The only one we can rely on is God. Because man is a liar. All human beings have sinned. God is perfect. That's why we must trust in Him.

Eddie Cochise asked a lot of questions about who is God, and then told us the same story as Leon did about the hand trembling. He said that we can know anything from the little fly called *donco*, and it sounds the same as God because this donco can tell us anything that is going to happen. Fry said that we aren't telling them about flies, but about the true God. But then Eddie Cochise told us a lot of more stories about how when this fly comes into the hogan

it means something is going to happen, and about some stories when it really did happen. And there is another animal called *tinilei*, a long, black, spotted lizard, that talks to us and tells us what is wrong in the Hand Trembling Way. And Eddie Cochise told Fry that we believe all those things because many times we lift sickness from people with that when we sing on them. But Fry kept saying that it wasn't the truth, that we worshipped the only true God, and that all those things that Eddie Cochise thought were the same, really were not.

Well, Eddie Cochise got kind of mad at Fry. He said, "I think that what our old parents told us is the truth too. And right now I've got four people who I sing over that joined your church. Some day if they have the same trouble, that their sickness comes up to them, and they then come for me. I'm going to say, 'you're not in my religion now, you belong to the missionary,' Can you cure that?"

Fry said, "Yeah, but I'm not going to cure it. The God that we're praying to is going to help them. We are human beings just like you. We can't cure anybody. Only if you believe in God, then God will cure your sickness or any kind of trouble."

The next Sunday in church we told the Ten Commandments from five to ten again.

Then Johnny Blanco stood up. He said, "How come that some of the men have two wives, and they claim that they are Christians? Does God honor that? I just want to ask this question about that."

And Fry said, "God doesn't love them. God is against that, he doesn't allow to have two wives, or three or four wives. I'm glad that you brought this up yourself, Johnny."

That was the end of the service. No one else stood up. But when the crowd was leaving, Jo Miguel's wife said, "The question that I heard today was against me, so I don't think I'll come to this mission again. I don't think my husband is going to come to this church again either." She told this to me when she was walking out. I didn't tell Fry.

Fry was glad that Johnny Blanco brought it up about two wives, because he knew that he had to tell the people about it, but he didn't want to bring it up himself or the people would say that he was talking against them.

And the next Sunday Fry brought it up to the people. He said, "Last Sunday Johnny Blanco brought this up—you brought it up your own self. Now it will show the people who talk against us, that you brought it up yourself and we didn't. But two-wives is against God's rule, and not only against God's word, but against the government rule. I think that some day the government is going to step in about this two-wives in the Rimrock area. So I wish that you men who have two wives will straighten this up before the government steps in and we have trouble about it."

Evelyn, Joseph, and Margarita Luciano were there. And Ken Chamiso. They kind of felt sorry about it. They hung their heads, and I think that Margarita never came to the mission since that time.

Charles Yazi stood up and told the people that he had been against this two-wife business for many years, and that we shouldn't blame the missionary for this coming up, because he is just telling us what God's rule is, and what the government rule is—what's wrong. It's not made up out of his own mind.

Johnny Blanco stood up and said, "The reason I brought this up was, if any man has two wives and claims that they are Christians, I will never give myself to the Lord again. If they make it one-wife, then I will become saved again."

About that time the old medicine men started to talk against the mission at the meetings at the Chapter house. Mr. Moustache and old Jake Miguel said that they felt kind of bad about that the missionary always said to throw away all the medicine man's stuff. They wanted to ask the people if they couldn't make the missionary go away. And Bill Begay said that there was "nothing we could do about it now. We made the agreement with the missionary about the land when he first moved in, and there wasn't much we could do about it." He suggested that maybe if we wanted to talk against the missionary we could tell his boss about it. John Mucho was against the missionary at that meeting too. Charles Yazi stood up and told the people that the missionary had done a lot to help the people. Before he came the people had no clothes, or ran around with very ragged clothes. He said that maybe those who had a lot of sheep didn't appreciate that—

he meant John. He said that the rich people were selfish. All they wanted was enough to eat—not to help the poorer people.

They argued a lot about it at the meetings, and Charles Yazi always spoke for the missionary, and Jani's wife too. Charles said that the church stories were always free, and they could be told in the summertime or any time all year. But the Navaho stories cost too much, and it's only in the wintertime.

Jake Miguel said that he was a Mormon because the Mormons didn't talk against the Navaho religion.

We also visited those people who had backed up from the mission—Audrey Mario, the two-wife people, Johnny Blanco, and Nancy Baca. We asked how come they didn't come around any more. We told them that if you don't pray to God for one day, you get a little away from him. If you don't pray for two days you're getting away further from him. Then if you get a little further off from God, the Devil will get you right away. So we must pray every day to keep ourselves close to God, and we must go to his house every Sunday to pray. Audrey and Nancy said that Old Man Mr. Moustache told them not to come any more. Johnny Blanco always said that he couldn't come as long as there were two-wife men around who claimed to be Christians. Once Jo Miguel's wife came to church and stood up.

She said, "All you Christian people talk against those who have two wives. I don't think it's fair to talk against us. Many times the missionary told us that we mustn't talk against our neighbor. And I see that some of you who claim to be Christians are not doing right either. I don't think that you can be Christian and do all those things, too."

Fry felt kind of bad about that, and he told the people that he didn't want any arguments or politics in the church. If the people want to argue or call names, they must do it outside at some other meeting, but here we must learn to love our neighbors.

One day we had a long talk with Victor about religion. He told us the story about the Navaho religion, how things were created when the Holy People had a Blessing Sing after first man and first woman came out of the hole.

And Fry told him that the Navahos had too many gods. "God said, 'I am the only God.'"

Victor said that he had lot of stories—some even that could predict the future. He said that the old people said that someday The People will forget about their clans and marry within clans—the clans would be lost. And it seems to be getting that way now. And the old people said that someday it would be lot of rain, hail, cyclones, strong winds with rocks and sticks flying in the air. And we have seen some of those. And they said that someday we would have a big knowledge. Now look at these towns, automobiles, machineries, and everything. And they said that the world is growing older. Just like the face. When it is young, it is smooth, and when it gets old it is all wrinkled. That's the way with this earth now. All perkies, arroyos, and washes. He said that his grandfather told him that when the earth was new, it was all flat, lot of nice grass, and everything pretty. Now it is dry, worn out, just getting old. They said that when the end of time came, two suns would come up, and the fire will burn up everything. Big wind, and the fire, will clean everything out. But they didn't mention anything about another life after.

Fry said that Jesus told his disciples a lot of things about what was going to happen in the future too. He said to watch out for the false religions that would come into this world—some day the other people will say "I am Jesus." This is the way Jesus told us, and there are a lot of false religions now. And he told us that there is going to be a big noise in the air. And now we have the airplane. And he said that things were going to move fast on the ground. That is the car. And he said that there was going to be a big war, nation against nation. And there were a lot of other things he mentioned in the Bible. And he said that when the end comes and he comes back, if you didn't accept Him, you will be lost. When Jesus picks up all the believers and takes them to Heaven, He is going to send a plague down to all those that are left. They will live for seven years that way, and the fire will burn everything up. Then the Devil, who is the king of Hell, is going to come and take them down where it is everlastingly burning.

Jim Chamiso stopped into the church every

time he came back to Rimrock for a visit. He always told the people how glad he was that the missionary had come to Rimrock. He told them how he learned how to be a Christian the time he was in school, and that he still went to the Presbyterian mission. And he told them he was glad that the people weren't joining the Mormon church, because from the beginning the Mormons had taken the land from the Navahos and cheated them in the trading. Even when the Navahos were interested in the Mormon church and a lot of them started going to their services on Sunday with Charlie Blackbird as interpreter, they had received bad treatment from them. Charlie Blackbird had overheard some of the Mormons say, "Oh, the Navahos—they stink. We don't want them to come to this church again." So the Navahos stopped going to the Mormon church. "This missionary is not after our money, or our land. He just wants to show us how to get out of doing the wrong things, and how to give up the bad un-Christian stuff and get the good way out of God's word."

We had some arguments with Mr. Moustache and Ricardo, and some of the other medicine men whenever we met them at somebody's hogan. Mr. Moustache always asked Fry how come he told the people to throw away all the medicine man's stuff. He said that the little bag with the dirt from the four holy mountains had come down to him from many years ago and would be carried on after he died by his descendants, who would rely on that. When Fry told him that he was serving the Devil, Mr. Moustache got kind of mad at him. He said, "I don't think I'm serving the Devil. I'm serving the holy mountains and my mother the Earth, and my father the Heaven. I don't think that I could raise up so many persons from the sickness and made them well if I served the Devil." And Fry said, "How about the broken bone? Or the T.B.? Or the cancer? Can you cure those?" And Fry showed him where his wrist had been broken and is now straight. He said that the doctor set it and Fry had prayed to the Lord to help the doctor. The Lord is the only one who can help us with any kind of trouble. Even the doctor can't cure us of T.B., just rest—lie down. God is against that stuff what you Navahos worship. If you rely on it, when your time is come you will be

everlastingly lost. Mr. Moustache said, "I don't believe it. You keep your religion and I keep my own religion. But don't tell my people to throw this stuff away."

The people were having trouble with the boys who were running the co-op store. John Nez and Eddie Mario were always getting drunk and spending the store money, and John especially was scaring the women who came in there so that they were afraid to buy their stuff there. Finally after several meetings they decided to take John Nez out of that job—he had spent a lot of the store money for a pick-up without getting permission. Charlie Blackbird was the one the people decided on for the new store keeper. Fry was happy about this because Charlie and his wife were very interested in the mission.

We visited Ken Chamiso's hogan, and told them about the Ten Commandments, from the fifth to the tenth. Sarah, Ken's first wife, told Fry that they didn't know that it was against God's rule to have two wives at the time the missionary first moved into Rimrock. After the missionary came was the first they knew about God's rule. That's all she said then, but one Sunday after that they brought it up at the mission.

Dorothy (Ken's second wife) stood up and said, "We have decided about what we hear from God's word about the Ten Commandments. I think that the unbelievers will point at us and talk against the mission, so we decided that Ken is just going to live with me—this is the way I told my husband. God's word tells us that it is wrong to hold two women, and it's against the state law too, so we decided to settle this up. We are supporting Sarah too, because she doesn't have any relatives anywhere, so she can stay right at home. But I am the only one who is his wife now."

About that time Johnny Blanco had his squaw dance. Fry told the people to keep away from that squaw dance if you are Christians, because a lot of trouble is going to happen there. And he said, "I think that those men who work for that anthropologist are putting up the squaw dance. All those men who ask questions from you—they just want to put everything down—how you act, and how you dance, and how you are going with the girls at night. This is what they write down, and

they make an interesting story of it and print it in a book. Then they are going to sell the book all over the world and this is how they make money out of you people. That's all they are interested in, and that's why they put up that squaw dance."

There was a lot of trouble at that squaw dance. Bob Johnson beat up his wife, and Ed-die Cochise beat up one of his wives. Fry heard that there was a lot of drinking the last day, and I think that all of those who had become Christians went to the squaw dance. Nanabah, Sally Yazi, and Jim Domingo, and Emily Gomez. They were all over there, Haske Chamiso got drunk too. I stopped in there while on my way to Rimrock though I didn't tell Fry about it, and saw all those people.

All during that time there was a lot of bad feeling with the two-wife people and the medicine men talking against the missionary. One day they had a meeting at the store to decide what to do about John Nez. Jim Chamiso suggested that Charlie Blackbird, who had just recently returned to Rimrock, would be the best one for the job and the people all voted to put Charlie in—about seventy people to twenty-three people who wanted to keep John.

At that same meeting Jo Miguel read a letter from the superintendent about the election of new officers. The people were anxious to put in Jim Chamiso, and after they voted to make him the new delegate he stood up and made a speech. He said that if the people really wanted him to be their delegate everything was going to be changed around there. The poor people are going to get their relief checks, all children of school age are going to be sent to school—if we can fight for a bigger boarding school, a new blacksmith shop near the school, Charlie to be the new store manager, and a lot of changes like that—and I think he meant the two-wives too. The people didn't say anything.

After the meeting the people began to wonder if they should have elected Jim Chamiso. Some of the people didn't want to change everything and they said that they thought he really meant it about changing everything.

After that the two-wife people, John Mucho, Jo Miguel, and Evelyn and Joseph

Pablo all got together and talked about Jim Chamiso's election. There was a lot of arguing back and forth at the meetings and Charles Yazi always talked against the two-wives. John Mucho stood up, though, and said that the election of Jim Chamiso wasn't fair, "because we didn't have a chance to talk it over or think about it. We just ran like sheep."

Anyway they decided to have another election after the whole community could hear about it and hear from both men so they could decide. John Mucho and Evelyn suggested Jo Miguel for delegate to run against Jim Chamiso. Bill Begay was bus driver for the Day School now, and so had to resign from delegate, and someone would have to be elected chapter president to replace Jo if he were elected delegate.

We visited the Marios one day and old man Mr. Moustache was there getting ready to have a sing that night. We asked the Marios how come they didn't come down to the mission any more and Mario's wife said that they had a lot of business around their home—keeps them busy every day. Fry told her that God worked six days and rested on the seventh the time that he created everything, so now we should work six and rest the seventh and go to the Lord's house to worship Him.

Mario's wife said then, "You are against the religion of the Navaho, and against the singing, and the smoking, and lots of things that are good. The Mormons are not that way, so we cut off from the Galilean church and joined the Mormon church. That's why we never go to the mission any more."

Mr. Moustache said, "How come you are here when I am having a sing? We hear that you are against all these things? I have the corn pollen here in my pocket, and I hear that you are talking against this too, and telling the people to throw this away."

Fry asked Mr. Moustache how old he was, and when the old man told him that he was over eighty some place, Fry said that God had been good to him—given him a long life. But that if he kept on serving a lot of gods instead of the true master, he would be lost.

Mr. Moustache said, "If I am serving the Devil I don't think that I could cure so many people who are sick. Sometime when I sing over a person it doesn't cure it. But it has to

have another sing on that person. If we get another medicine man, when they sing on that person who is sick, then he is cured right away. That is the way our religion is. And now I am telling the people every place that I sing, to keep away from your mission. I tell them that if they want the old story, I can tell them with our old parents' story. Some time ago we decided that we are going to build a big hogan near my home now, and tell all the young people about my old stories, so that when they grow up they'll know about it."

Fry said, "I think that you just ask for money or whatever your people have. We hear that the old people get a lot of money out of it when they tell the story—sometimes sheep or horses. We don't get anything out of the Navahos—no sheep or horses. The gospel, God's word, is free for anybody."

Old Man Mr. Moustache said, "How come that I hear you collect money every Sunday? You put everything in your pocket. I think that those who attend the mission are the ones who bought you your new car."

Fry said, "Yeah. We get an offering every Sunday, but that doesn't go into our own pockets. The money goes back to headquarters and they use it to build up other missions. That money goes to where God's word is, not in our own pockets. We pay too, the same as the people. We send sixteen dollars to headquarters every month out of our own pocket. And our people put in four or five dollars every week; that's the way the Christian people help each other. That's what God expects us to do. We have been a great help to the Navaho people here. We give them food and clothing and bring them to the hospital. But we hear that in your religion that if a poor person is sick, you still want to get something out of them. I don't think that's fair. And we taught some of those ladies to make pins and moccasin purses, from beads, and we buy them for a quarter. Then Mrs. Fry sells them in the other churches and I always get less for them than what we pay the Navahos for them. We don't skin the Navahos. And we bring the free story of the Bible. You medicine men always want to skin your people. We are not like you."

Mr. Moustache said, "You said that if I don't accept the Lord that I will not live much

longer and I will be lost. Well, some of my grandchildren and some of these young people learn my singing and story. That's the way the sing goes on. I have a lot of stories about what's going to happen in the future, but our old parents didn't tell us that there was anyone named God, or that there is going to be another life after this one. I think that what we worship is what gave me long life, and I have to keep my own religion, and you can keep your own religion. If you keep talking against our religion we can move you out of here."

And Fry said, "Yes, you can move us out of here, but you can't move God's word. God will punish you if you talk against God's word."

And Mr. Moustache said, "Our religion is strong too. You can't talk against our story either or something will happen to you. My father knew about what was going to happen in the future, and we see a lot of that now. Lot of religions are spreading around here; the people are forgetting about their clans, there have been great wars, the children are talking against their parents. All these things he told us about. And someday there are going to be a lot of people become crazy, and at the end of time we are going to see two suns come up and the earth will be destroyed by two things; a big fire and a big wind. But they never told me that there is going to be another life after this one."

Fry said, "In God's word it tells us about the other life. There are two roads—a wide one and a narrow one. The Christians stay on the narrow road to live forever in a happy country. You medicine men are not walking on the narrow road. You are walking on the path to Hell. I wish that you would accept the Lord. It would be a great influence for your people."

Mr. Moustache said, "No. I don't follow what I don't know. I want to follow what I do know. So you can keep your religion. I have saved a lot of people from sickness with this corn pollen. This is what cures a person many times. So I want to hang on to my own religion."

And we visited Charlie Mucho because he was one of the people who backed up from the church. We asked him how come he used to come to the mission but now he didn't come any more. And he told us the story: "I went

over to Billy Francisco's hogan three Sundays ago, and there was a sing going on over there. There were a lot of drunkards there, and they pretty near drove me out of the hogan. They said, 'How come you are in the hogan when the missionary always talks against our singing? You better go out from this hogan. You belong to the missionary and we don't want you here.' That's what they told me, and I started to think it over that I am losing all my friends. That's one reason I don't come any more. And then one of my little girls was sick. My wife and I prayed and prayed while the girl was unconscious. We both prayed three or four times for the little girl, but she was still just the same. Then I went to get Ricardo to sing over her and after he sang over her all night and the next day she got well. That's why I backed up from the church. I think that the white religion is for the white people—not for us. The medicine man lifted up the sick person and the Lord doesn't do it. So I believe in my own religion."

But Charlie didn't come to the church again, though his wife still came.

The people had several meetings at the Chapter house in this time, and they always argued about the election of the delegate. John Mucho, Mr. Moustache, and Evelyn Pablo always talked for Jo Miguel, and Charles Yazi and Charlie Blackbird talked for Jim Chamiso.

John said, "The first time when we elected Jim Chamiso, I think that all the people understood what he said. He said that everything is going to change, if he is elected for delegate. I think that it means to reduce our sheep again. Jim Chamiso doesn't favor the Navahos very much—he always sticks onto the white people. I don't think we should elect him."

And Mr. Moustache stood up and said that he agreed with John and thought that the changes Jim Chamiso wanted also included telling the people to go to church and throw away their old religion. So Mr. Moustache wanted to elect Jo too.

And Evelyn talked against Jim too, because Jim was against the two-wives.

Charles Yazi always stood up and said, "It doesn't matter whether you're a Christian or not, but it seems to me that if you want what

is right you can't elect those people who have two-wives to be our officers. I think that all the young boys will follow that example if we do that. Don't let's talk about Christian or not-Christian. I think that Jim Chamiso is good for the delegate's job because he talks English and has a lot of experience with English. If we don't know English it's like we are deaf. We can't read the letters from the government officials either. So I think we should elect Jim Chamiso. I think that you who have two-wives are afraid that Jim Chamiso will take one wife away from you, and those of you who have a lot of sheep are afraid for that. I think that Jim is going to stop all that using of all other people's land out there as you are doing for your sheep, John. I think that's what you are afraid of."

We heard from the people that Bob Johnson was getting drunk very often, and Loretta Blackbird too. The Board of Directors had to talk to both of them many times because they were always getting drunk and the unbelievers could point their fingers at them because they claimed to be Christians.

Once Jake Miguel came down to the mission drunk and he sure started to cuss out Fry. He said that the Navahos who became Christians had no sense. They had come to the mission and accepted the white religion and then threw away their own religion. And he said, "Your religion doesn't amount to anything. It doesn't belong to us, so I wish you would move out of here with your religion. The time that your religion wasn't among us that time we were all good together in one people. Now you are stirring up the people. We are trying to make the people believe in our religion, and some of them don't want to because of you. So I don't like you missionary and I don't like your story. I wish you'd move out again."

And Jake tried to run down Fry with his horse, but Charles Yazi and Jani were there and they grabbed Jake by the arm and made him go home.

When John Mucho and Evelyn and the others who wanted Jo Miguel met together we heard that they always said the same thing. They said that if the people all became Christians then we wouldn't have any medicine men

any more some day. They would throw away all our religion and that is what makes us strong. If we throw away all our old religion, then something will happen to us, so we must keep our own religion.

Soon after that Jake Miguel became sick and we took him to the hospital after Ricardo sang over him. He died at the hospital from diphtheria the next night. On that Sunday Fry told the people in the church that God really punished Jake right away because he had been coming around the mission drunk and cussing about God's word. So, he said, you mustn't

talk against God's word because God will punish you right away.

Finally on April 8th the people came to the co-op store and voted in the election for the delegate. John Mucho and Charlie Blackbird watched the voting and the people came all day long. There had been so much arguing about this that most of the people just came in and voted and then left for home. They didn't want to talk about it. Jo Miguel won the election with one hundred and one votes to Jim Chamiso's thirty-five.

PHASE THREE

Well, in that night when the election was over, some of the boys got drunk. And they said, "We've elected the two-wife men now, and that means that we can all have two wives." They were Mike Ramoncito, Rosario Miguel, Luke Romero, and Norman Gordo. They said, "We can do what we please now. We can get drunk too, anywhere we want."

John Mucho and Jo Miguel and Roy Mucho came together in Evelyn Pablo's house, and they filled out the papers and sent them to the Indian agent at Tselizhine that we had elected the delegate Miguel.

The church people didn't like it that Jo was elected to be their delegate. And all the men who didn't come to church, and those who had two wives, and those who got drunk all the time or had a lot of trouble, they didn't like Jim Chamiso. Some of them said, "We still want the liquor—that's why we elected Jo Miguel . . . because Jo gets drunk most of the time himself. He is our friend and sometimes if we offer him some liquor he takes it every time."

At the meeting of the church the next Sunday, Jim Chamiso stood up and said, "I'm glad that they didn't elect me for the delegate. If the people elected me there would be no more drunkenness among them, and there would be no more two-wife among them. I think that the people are satisfied that Jo Miguel was elected. That means that they can stay the same way as things were. The drunkards can fight where the medicine men hold the sings."

And Charles Yazi stood up and said, "I'm

not satisfied about Jo being elected for delegate. I'm going to keep on talking against him. I think that it's wrong to elect two-wives to be our officers. Let those two-wife people meet themselves, but you Christian people can stay away from their meetings when they call them, unless it's something really important that the supervisor is bringing up to us."

And he said, "I see some of you unbelievers are here today. You can tell those two-wives that I am the one who talks against them and not the missionary. They are going to make trouble and blame the missionary for all this talk, but I am the one, and I am not going to stop talking against them. Some of you might think, 'oh, he has no wife, and that's why he is talking against two-wives.' But I'm really on the true road what I'm saying. The state law doesn't allow two-wives, and even God's word doesn't allow to have two wives. That's why I'm against it. It's going to be bad in the future if all the two-wives are our officers. All the young boys will follow them."

Bob Johnson stood up and said that he wasn't satisfied about the election either, and that we should stick to what we believe at the mission anyway. "Let them do their own business that they decided, and we can stick to our Christian fellowship."

That Sunday my wife and I decided after the church services that we must move out of here before the trouble comes. So the next day I went to Fry's house and told him that we would like a vacation for two weeks. Fry said that we have three days off every two weeks

to go home, so he didn't want to give us a vacation. And he asked how come we wanted to go home? And I told him that maybe there's going to be a lot of trouble with the church work and the people who don't like us to stay. Fry's wife told me that she thought that was my wife's idea. "Why don't you let her go back home and you stay and work here? And you can see her every week." I told them that I might do that, and then I told my wife about this. She said that it would not be all right—she wanted me to go back home too. Fry didn't want me to go back, so I just kept working for him.

About two weeks after we elected the delegate, John Mucho, Evelyn and Joseph, and Bill Begay went to Albuquerque and filled out a paper for the superintendent. And they told the superintendent that the people weren't co-operating together and that whenever they had meetings there was nothing but big arguments. So they just met in Jo Miguel's hogan with some of the older people and decided about the officers, John Mucho for president, Leo Domingo for vice-president, Evelyn for secretary, and Joseph for police. The superintendent okayed that paper and they became the officers. When they came back they posted the announcement in the store, and they gave one to Fry to post. The next Sunday somebody pulled it off. The Sunday after that when we put it up again somebody put a big mark on it "No Good" in pencil. I don't know who did it, and then the next Sunday it was down again.

When the new officers had been chosen they had a meeting at Evelyn's place with a few people to explain about the new officers. Charles Yazi was there and he stood up and said, "When was the election for these officers? I don't think the whole community elected officers yet. We elected an officer for the first time—all the community was there. But these new officers we didn't elect. I don't think it was fair, if you elected them your own self. Does anybody know when these elections were? I don't think the people will be satisfied about not being there."

Mr. Moustache stood up and said, "We oldest men gathered with those new officers over at Jo Miguel's place and that's when they were elected." And Charles Yazi said, "Is Jo Miguel's hogan the Chapter House? Should Jo Miguel's

hogan be the meeting place for elections? Right here in the Chapter House is where the people should come for elections, and everybody should know about it. That's not fair that you had a meeting your own self. That's wrong."

And Mr. Moustache said, "Those of you who stick onto the missionary are talking against us and our religion. What do you think you are? Do you think you are white men? I don't think that's fair to talk against your own religion."

And Charles Yazi stood up and said, "Half of your leg is down in Hell now, and pretty soon it's going to be down to your waist. You talk big now, but I don't think that the old things that are going on are going to be kept the same. It's changing now, and it's not going to be the same even for this year now, because the government is changing everything now. It's not the same as it was when you were young. The time when you were young we hear that you had five wives, and you still think it's the same today. I don't think things are the same as what you did when you were young. And you think that everything that you suggest is true, but I don't think so—because everything is changing now."

And Mr. Moustache stood up and said, "Maybe you think that what you have in your hand—the God's religion—is a great opportunity. I think this is the way you think about it. You think that you are great now. But I think that the missionary is the one who stirred up all these people. Before the missionary came here everything was going all right. When he got in we started going two ways, and now we have a lot of trouble."

Then Charles Yazi said, "The time before the missionary came in here we were all going wild. After he got in here he told us what is right. And you medicine people don't realize what's right. You talk against what's right. I think that you are a witch, you learned something from your singing. That's why you think you're a great big man. But I don't care if you are a witch. That can't hurt me a bit if you try it on me, because I serve a great big master."

Jo Miguel stood up and said that maybe the people didn't want him to be delegate since some were satisfied about it and some were against him. He said that he wasn't anxious to

be the delegate, and didn't know what to do. John Mucho encouraged him to stay on as delegate, and that was all that happened.

There was a lot of trouble in that time between the unbelievers and the Christians, and the unbelievers said that they wanted to move the missionary out from among them.

We visited Margarita Luciano again, and she wasn't very friendly to Fry. She told Fry that she had given us a piece of land and now he was talking against her. And Fry said, "I don't talk against anybody. I just talk against what's wrong. I'm not the only one who talks against what's wrong. You must think it over and find out where you stand about what's wrong."

And Margarita said, "I don't think it's any of your business what we are doing. That's our own duty what we do among us in our lives."

Fry said, "Well, that's wrong."

Margarita said, "I heard that you were talking against me so I don't go to your church any more. The Mormons don't tell us about those things that you say, so I think the Mormon is a good religion."

Fry said, "You and I are good friends, and I want you to come to church every Sunday."

Margarita said, "I don't think I can go to church any more because all the Christian people are talking against us, and you too." So we just had a word of prayer for Margarita's family and went on again.

We visited Mariano Chamiso and asked if we could tell him some about the gospel. He said that his father, Mr. Moustache, had told him that this was not his religion and that anytime the missionary came to the house not to let him tell about his religion. He said that he'd let us talk, but Fry felt kind of sad about that. He said, "I think that Mr. Moustache is telling all the people not to go to church, and that God's religion is not their religion."

The next day when we went down to the store Mr. Moustache was there. Fry asked Mr. Moustache, "How are you?" Mr. Moustache answered, "I feel fine every day." And he showed us his bag of corn pollen. He said, "I pray with this every day, and every morning—that's why I feel fine every day. But you don't like this." And Fry said, "Yeah, I don't like that, but I like you. It's just what you medicine men are doing that I don't like."

And Mr. Moustache said the same way, "The way you are converting the young people is what I don't like. You always tell the people to give up all the old ways. And my old parents told me that if these Navaho people give up their old ways, all of them, we're not going to live long. Something is going to happen to us. You are trying to disturb our religion. I don't want your religion. I want to have my own religion."

About that time Charlie backed up from the church. He started to get drunk when he went to Gallup for Friday night with his wife. Charlie was on the Board of Directors when Sam Caballo was beginning to get drunk all the time—that's when they took Sam off and put Charlie in. Then when Charlie started getting drunk, Fry started to have a talk with him. After that Charlie never came back to the mission any more. His wife came, but never Charlie; Bob Johnson and Sam Caballo started to back up too at that time. They started to work at the sawmill again about that time, and Fry knew that Bob Johnson always beat up his wife when he was drunk. One day Fry decided to ride out to the sawmill to see Bob Johnson. When we found Bob, Fry started to talk to him. He told him that we heard that he was going wrong—getting away from God again. And Bob said it was true—that he had been drinking several times now. Bob's wife said that they were still praying to God, but that Bob forgot his prayers. The time he got drunk was the time he forgot his prayers, so she and the children were the only ones who still prayed every day.

Bob made his testimonial in the church the next Sunday and told the people that he was going to get back on the right road again. And Charles Yazi stood up and said, "Many of us Christians make our testimony here before the people and then when we get outside many of you people don't remember what you said before the people. You start to go wrong again. I don't think the Lord is going to bless us if we do that way. If we really want to be Christians we must mean it, so that the unbelievers won't be able to point their finger at us. So it hurts the church, and not only the church but it hurts all us Christians. I am glad that I am really a Christian and stand for the Lord every day."

At the Board of Director's meeting, Fry asked us to decide what to do about Charlie and his wife—whether to take them off the board and put some Christian in his place or not. Charles Yazi, who was the director of the board, said that was the only way to do it—we can't have any drunkards on the Board of Directors. And we had to have a talk with Cleo too—not to talk like that in the mission again.

When we were through with the meeting we met Cleo outside, where she was standing with Nanabah, and Sally Yazi. Charles Yazi said to her, "You explained last Sunday that we didn't know anything about the gospel. We want you to explain it to us now so that we will think about it and no one can say that in church again." And Cleo said, "I was drunk then. What I meant was just that it seemed to me that some of the Christians just hear the story of the gospel and then when they get outside they do all kinds of bad things as soon as they get on the other side of the hill. That's why I brought that up in church." And Charles said, "We are not all doing like that. So it kind of hurts us when you say that, and it hurts God's word too. So if we want to say something about what's against God's word, the Board of Directors is responsible, so you can say it to them. If you're not satisfied about something, bring it to us, not in the mission, and we can talk it over instead of making the people's hearts feel bad."

After that Charlie and his wife didn't come to church much any more, and we heard that Charlie was getting drunk every Sunday.

That time that Bob Johnson was drunk in church he beat his wife after the services and the Frys took her into their house. When Fry told Bob that he couldn't beat up his wife, Bob almost fought with Fry. Jim Domingo and Charles Yazi had to hold him, because he said, "I don't care. I can beat up anybody."

Mrs. Fry took care of Bob's wife for three days and then Bob came down after her—sober. Fry had a talk with him about how he should love his wife and care for her. Bob gave himself to the Lord again right there, and Fry let his wife go back with him though Nanabah, her mother, didn't want Bob to be

her son-in-law any more. Fry said that she had no way to support her children otherwise, and that Bob was going to try to be a good man.

Charlie got in more trouble with his brother Vincente Blackbird, and Bob Johnson beat up his wife more times at the mission, so the unbelievers started to talk more and more against the mission. The people said that the missionary is just for trouble, that's all. And they wanted to send the missionary away.

We had a meeting of the Board of Directors on that Sunday and Fry told them to encourage the people to come to church—not to listen to those unbelievers who talk against the church. Then I told the members of the Board that this was my last meeting. I told them that I was leaving because the trouble looked like it was getting worse and worse, and I don't have enough salary at the mission. They were sure worried about me, and they wanted to ask Fry to give me more salary, but I told them that it was up to the superintendent of the church and not Fry.

On Thursday I asked Fry if I could go to town, and he said all right. I stayed around my father's place for about a week, and then I went to Albuquerque with my father and on the way back we stopped at Apache. We met Charlie Blackbird there and he gave us something to drink. We stayed there for a while at the rodeo and then came back. On that Friday I went back to Rimrock. Fry told me that he heard from Charlie that I was at Apache and drinking. I told him that he offered me something to drink and I took some. He told me that I mustn't do that. "We are working among the Rimrock people and we mustn't do that kind of thing." So I told him that I was going to quit working right then. He said that he was going to make more wages for me, but I told him that anyway I wanted to go back home. He said that he had done everything he could for me, took care of me just like an adopted son.

Then I told him that I wanted to go right now, and I packed my clothes and started home. I got home to my father's place about 12:30 at night. So that's the end of my story.

CASE STUDIES

THESE five case studies of individuals represent types of value shifts away from traditional Navaho modes and in the direction of Christianity. The first two show the most marked value changes, one of a Staunch male Galilean, the other of a Staunch female Galilean. The second pair of studies are examples

of male and female Galileans of the less intense conversion type. The fifth case study is of Marcos, most intense and sustained of Mormon converts. All of the latter show relatively minor value shifts when compared with Galilean converts.

CHARLES YAZI—A STAUNCH GALILEAN¹

Charles Yazi, the type case for the strongest positive response to the missionary's work at Rimrock, displays all of the characteristics of a Staunch Galilean. He has completely renounced Navaho sacred practices and attends the mission every Sunday if it is physically possible. In the last three years he has been absent from church services only twice. He prays daily, before meals and at other times, and knows many standard Christian passages, such as the Lord's prayer, by heart. At meetings of the Navaho group he is the defender of the missionary, and the active spokesman for reforms. He neither smokes nor drinks, and subscribes to the theory that they are poisonous practices which impair the healthful functioning of the organism—a notion alien to Navaho thought. His own devotion to the mission and its work is supplemented by active efforts to interest others.

LIFE STORY

On March 31st, 1890, Charles Yazi was born into the group of Navahos living near Rimrock. The way of life of the People in those days, he recalls, was quite different. The People lived more closely together in clan groupings, and they subsisted largely through the efforts of the men who hunted in groups for deer to the south.

In those days . . . they didn't have any kind of officers. They lived in a very wild way. They didn't learn anything, and they didn't teach each other anything. When the children were seven or eight years old they took them and threw them into the snow at night.

That was when the children grow up they're going to be brave. That's what they said.²

Seventh in a birth order of eight children with four older and one younger sisters, Charles recalls that the life of a small child was not all pleasure:

When they told a boy or a girl to do something; chop wood, or get water, or go after the sheep or the horses—if this boy or girl doesn't want to, his mother or father would get a whip that's made for it, and strike us with that whip. That's the way it used to be until about 1905.

Among his earliest recollections, a prominent place is given to Charles' impressions of Navaho medicine men's discussions of their mythology. Is those days the concepts and stories which stood behind the rituals were vital issues for the old Navaho religious men, or intellectuals. Charles remembers tending the fire for the old people and watching and listening while they recounted the "great story" of the Navahos: "They studied about *tóbážíščíní* and *na'yé'ne·zyání* and out of that they got the *na'at'oe·ba'á·ž í* singing."

In the light of his present beliefs Charles recalls their discussions as manifestations of ignorance and uncertainty:

Here's one thing they never knew, and they never guessed, and they still don't know—that *sá'a na·yái*, that's the holy spirit that made all this earth, the plants, rain, and everything. They still don't know what that is. And there are two of those great holy spirits—the other is *bik'e xójó-n*—that stands for good

¹ See Case History of Jo Yazi in Vogt, 1951.

² These quotations are from interviews with the

Navahos concerned.

things. *sa'a na-yái* means lives forever. They just said that, but they didn't know who they were, and they still don't know. They used to fight among themselves about it.

One would say, 'I know what is *sa'a na-yái* and what is *bik'e xójó'n*.' Then he'll say, 'the earth is *sa'a na-yái* and the sky is *bik'e xójó'n*.' And the other will say, 'how do you know? The earth is not *sa'a na-yái*, and the sky is not *bik'e xójó'n*.' And the other medicine man will say 'why?' 'Well,' he'd say, 'because the earth is not in good shape all year, or forever. There are a lot of washes, and things busted up (earth-quakes) and all the plants die. And all kinds of trouble going on in this earth. Why is it *sa'a na-yái*? And the sky—every night it breaks, starts running, all over. That's not *bik'e xójó'n*. That hurts (lightning).' And the other will say, 'It's the truth. The earth is *sa'a na-yái*.' And the second man will say, 'why?' And the first man will say, 'because everything is coming out of the earth—all that we eat, all the plants are a gift to us. And the sky is *bik'e xójó'n* because the rains come down from the sky and raise everything up, all the plants and everything, and makes them live.'

And they always argued like this and many many more things. And they still don't know what *sa'a na-yái* and *bik'e xójó'n* are. I just listened while they fought each other about that.³

As he grew a little older, Charles recalls, he herded rams for his family. Barefoot and clad only in a loin cloth and headband, he remarks that it was quite different from these days when they dress up their children from the time they are babies. Alone in the pastures, Charles played with small animals and performed operations on them that he now considers bad. He used to throw his small dog into an opened ant-hill and found that it made the dog mean when he grew up. He killed snakes, cut the feet off lizards, eviscerated cotton-tails and let them run off to die.

When he was about ten, he moved to his grandmother's place to help with the sheep-herding. There he heard his first sing, a Blessing Way for his sick cousin. All the sensations of that first sing are still vivid in his mind, even the unpleasant sickness he suffered when he tried his first chewing tobacco. For the most part the sing was great fun, however, and he notes that there were no drunkards in those days.

During most of these early years Charles'

father spent a good deal of time at his parents' home near Willow Fence visiting his wife and children back at Rimrock only intermittently. Charles' mother's brother, a man named Hashk'ehe, was a strong male figure in Charles' early recollections.

One summer when Hashk'ehe came to Rimrock, he brought some silver jewelry for sheep and goats and somehow arranged with Charles' mother that the young boy should return with him to tend sheep. Charles set out on foot herding the newly acquired stock, while Hashk'ehe rode horseback. The trip was miserable for Charles. He was not properly fed, was cruelly treated by Hashk'ehe, and quickly became wretchedly lonesome and homesick.

One day Charles' father arrived at Hashk'ehe's camp and Charles found out for the first time that his grandmother's place, the place to which his father went when he was not at Rimrock, was not far from Hashk'ehe's. There was to be a sing at his grandmother's place, and it was arranged that Charles could go, but would have to be returned in two days.

At the sing Charles was ashamed of his wretched appearance, ragged clothing and "hair stuck way out with lice." In the race which was part of the ceremonial, for it was a female puberty rite, Charles distinguished himself as a fast runner and was proud again with the praise he won from the elders there. He was cleaned, groomed, and fitted out with new clothes by his new-found cousins, and even entertained the hope of returning to school at Ft. Defiance with some of the other children who were there at the sing. His father's promise to Hashk'ehe had to be fulfilled, however, and Charles was snatched from this flash of warm happiness back to the misery of Hashk'ehe's tyranny.

Then followed a period of frequent running away from Hashk'ehe to his grandmother's hogan, only to be recaptured and brought back with cruel whippings for his trouble. Once, at last, Charles made it back the thirty miles to his mother's place at Rimrock, and after telling of his unhappy life with Hashk'ehe was taken back into the home and assured by his father that he would never be returned to Hashk'ehe.

³ For discussions of the meanings of the terms "*sa'a na-yái*" and "*bik'e xójó'n*" see Reichard, 1950, p.

43, ff.; and McNair, 1948, 212 ff.

In 1905 Charles was one of ten children from the community to be sent to the Albuquerque Indian school. The first impressions of the school life centered around the cleanliness expectations. He had his fingernails cut, his hair clipped. "One big guy has a whip; he makes them pick up every little thing on the ground in the school yard. Had to go around and clean every day, every day—just like the army."

After the first year of ABC's and fights among the different Indian tribes after school hours, Charles and the other Rimrock boys returned home for the summer. He arrived first at the Muchos, close to his own home, and found his parents at a sing being held there. Here for the first time he saw drunkards at a sing; among them were Mr. Moustache and Ricardo who fought between themselves in the hogan. Here for the first time Charles remarked that something was wrong with his father. "My father was there. He was kind of crazy. It's not very crazy—just something wrong with his mind."

Returning to school in the fall, Charles was accompanied this time by his two brothers, Frederico and Fernando, as far as the train station at Red Cliffs. Since there was no communication between Charles and his parents during the school year, it was only after he returned the next summer that he learned of his father's death. Rudolfo, the father of Joseph, grief-stricken over the death of his wife, who had been ailing for about a year, fixed upon Charles' mentally deranged father the accusation of having effected her demise by witchcraft. Rudolfo followed Charles' father and shot him. Frederico and a younger boy who were herding the sheep witnessed the slaying, however, and in spite of Rudolfo's entreaties for silence, quickly spread the news.

A posse led by the Mormon trader of Rimrock hunted Rudolfo down and took him captive. Escaping from the room in which he was locked, Rudolfo remained at large for several days, but finally he showed up at Frank's hogan, adjacent to the hogan of the dead man's widow. Eating the food that was offered to him, but saying nothing, Rudolfo apparently made a decision and walked out into the night. The next morning Charles' mother came across

his body hung from a tree overhanging the trail between her hogan and Rimrock. He had taken his own life.

The summer was the first time Charles noticed that the people were being forced back to a serious extent by the Mormon expansion at Rimrock. The townships were split up and sections assigned at the land office without the knowledge of the Indians. The Mormons simply went there and declared that the section in question was unoccupied, and the proper ownership papers were arranged far off at Santa Fé.

After four years of school, Charles simply didn't return for the fifth fall term. He was needed at home to work around the farm. His older brothers had married and left to live with their wives' families, and his father was dead.

At about this time a fateful accident befell Charles while rounding up horses one day. He was struck by lightning, and though the horse was killed, and the saddle, the metal pommel of which had attracted the lightning bolt, split wide open, Charles miraculously survived with minor burns. He was found unconscious by Marcos who immediately fetched a singer. Old Man Roberto came to the place and performed the necessary ceremonials to aid Charles' recovery and to dispel the dangerous spirits. The singing went on for four nights until harmony was restored.

The Mormon land expansion continued as their children grew up and required land of their own. The Indians began to acquire legal property rights of their own—some leased, some purchased—and Charles had frequent bitter quarrels with Mormons over boundary and grazing rights. There were on several occasions threats of violence from both sides.

In 1917 Charles went off to Salceda Pueblo to herd sheep for a Salceda man, the present governor. After two years of this work, Charles was able to start a modest herd of sheep for himself. Working on Cox's farm gave him some additional capital, and a heavy pinyon season helped him to build up his herd to a comfortable size. Finally, after years of hard work, Charles married Mr. Moustache's daughter on September 10, 1925.

In the face of continued difficulties with the Mormons surrounding his property, Charles

built up a relatively prosperous farm on which to raise his family.

In 1934 Charles' wife died in childbirth after having borne him four children, two boys and two girls.

On April 9th, 1934, our baby should have been born, but it was in the wrong position—couldn't be born for twenty-four hours. I called in ten medicine men and women, those who knew about the birth of a baby, but they couldn't do anything because the baby was in the wrong position—it lay across way.

Finally she was rushed to the hospital at Tselizhine, where her life was saved for the moment, but her health continued to decline for thirty-eight days. Sick and weak after that time, she was brought back to Rimrock where several more medicine men were called in to sing over her. She died on June 20th of that same year.

Three years later Charles married again, this time to a girl he met at a squaw dance at the Railtown ceremonials. His new wife stayed with her parents near Pine Valley, and Charles visited back and forth between her place and his own place in Rimrock. After being married for over five years, she bore him a son, Edward Yazi. As the result of internal injuries suffered in childbirth, this wife fell ill and died on August 22nd, 1941, in spite of the efforts of many medicine men.

Her younger sister, who cared for the boy Edward, became Charles' third wife in March of 1942. After two years the third wife fell ill in pregnancy, and despite the efforts of several medicine men performing various ceremonials she failed to recover. When Charles went one day to take her to the hospital as a last resort, he found her dead.

People began talking about Charles. The medicine men and others said that whenever he married someone he caused them to become sick and they never get well. It must be, they said, because of the lightning that struck him—the medicine man who had sung over him hadn't done any good. No parents would let their daughter marry Charles again for fear that the same thing would happen to her. And many worse things were rumored around about Charles, in accordance with Navaho beliefs about the effects of having been struck by lightning:

They said that anything—even a tree—if it has been struck by lightning, it will cause trouble. If it's a tree and someone takes its branches and makes a fire for cooking with them, it will burn inside and kill them. If that man (Charles) marries a woman, it will burn inside of her and she won't live either.

... if an animal, or sheep, or a hogan has been struck by lightning, you shouldn't touch it. Whoever touches it, the same thing will happen—you will become sick, just get thinner and thinner, and then you'll die ... and they say about me, that where I sleep—my bed, a man shouldn't sleep on that or it will kill him. And my pants, or my shirt, or my hat—they're afraid of all those—nobody will wear them. And also if I eat anything, and if someone eats what I don't finish, the same thing will happen—he will get sicker and sicker and he'll die ... and another thing they say—no person should say a word to me. If I say to a man, if he gets mad at me, or something, if I say at him—'you go to hell'—that will be the truth. That will really happen to him—he will go to *č'p'di-t'ah*.

Charles consulted some medicine men about himself—he asked Billy Lento and Billy Gould, the best medicine men he knew, about the lightning. They assured him that the measures taken by Old Man Roberto at the time he was struck by lightning were perfectly sound and that the accusations and suspicions of the local Navahos were groundless.

Old Man Roberto taught Charles some of the ritual necessary for the purification of persons or objects struck by lightning—the same as he had sung over Charles. In order to be a singer of this type, one had to have been struck by lightning or somehow have been associated with it. Charles' heart was not in this, however, even though he learned the ritual and songs. He just did it four times in his career—over sheep—and then quit, partly because of his connections with the church, and never sang again.

During this period, Charles' family had been having trouble with Dobah, an older sister:

She used to get crazy all the time. Once in a while she would just tear all her clothes off and run around, roll on the ground. We would put her in the hogan and lock the door, but she just jumps up and tries to get out the smokehole. She talks kind of funny too—Salceda talk, American talk, Navaho. When she gets out she runs over to the little trees and starts to break down the branches, and then dances and jumps around. We took her to the hospital in Tselizhine, but the doctor said it was trouble with her nerves—maybe

it means something wrong with her mind. He said that there was no way to get well—he can't do anything for her because it's inside her brain. He said she'll be that way until she dies. So we just brought her home.

Medicine men were called in to help. First a diviner found by star-gazing that she had been witched. By the description he gave of the person doing the witching they recognized a man from the other side of the Salceda reservation who was reputed to be a witch. A hunt, directed by a falling star's path as seen by the star gazer, uncovered the materials used by the witch—a piece of Dobah's clothing in a tree branch, a ball of her hair buried in the ground near the same tree, and a stone hidden in a cave with a picture of Dobah scratched on its flat surface.

Billy Lento, a ceremonial practitioner versed in the particular chant needed to free Dobah of this evil influence was called in, and he sang certain portions of the Blessing Sing. Dobah recovered.

After about two years Billy Lento came back again and gave her some more medicine—just one and one-half nights he sang there, and made all kinds of medicine like he did before. After that nobody made medicine for her, and we didn't hire any medicine man any more. Now she became a Christian, and she goes to church all the time.

The only singer who could perform the proper version of the Blessing Sing to dispel Dobah's disturbances died several years back, and Charles says that she explains what the church has done for her in the testimonials made on Sundays. Just a short time ago, she testified, she was feeling like she was going a little crazy again, and then she got baptized and everything was all right again. She is depending on God to keep her well now, because the medicine man who sings her Blessing Way has died.

The period which followed was one of great unhappiness for Charles. In spite of the assurances of Billy Lento and Billy Gould about everything having been taken care of, the social sanctions which had been brought to bear had their effect. Charles became something of an isolate; he grew apart from the community and its normal course of social contacts. He suffered pains and sickness which countless medicine men failed to dispel.

Every time I did a little heavy work it made me sick, just like broken inside my body. I was still sick while they were doing all kinds of medicine over me—I wasted a lot of money on medicine men, but I just got worse and worse. I was kind of thin. All kinds of pains in my body, and at night I didn't sleep very good. Sometimes I thought, 'maybe I'll die this summer, or maybe this winter, because the medicine men don't do any good.' So I just gave up. I thought, 'I don't want to hire any medicine men from here on. Let it kill me whatever it's going to kill me—maybe devils or witches.' I just gave up.

Having just resigned himself to his unhappy fate, Charles "found" the missionary. While in Rimrock one day, Charles was hailed by a white man:

He knew my name, but I never was in his house before. He came over and shook hands and said, 'Why don't you come into our house . . . I've got some good news about Jesus.' And I went over to his house and there were some squaws and men in there; a phonograph was playing, talking in Navaho about Jesus. Then Fry began to talk about how the God made this world in six days. And about Adam, the first man that he made . . . he told the people to come back on Sundays, and he gave some medicine to the Indians who wanted that, and then they went out. When they left I asked him a lot of questions. I told him that something was wrong with my body, and that I had a lot of medicine men sing over me, but it didn't do any good. So I want your medicine for this kind of pain—can't sleep, sometimes it hurts about my wives and how the spirits of my dead wives caused all these devils to bother me—I hear them at night, they walk around the room—but when I look around, no one is there. . . . 'No,' he said, 'that's not the spirit of your wives. You study this and we'll help you out . . . every time you come to church we'll explain about it. We'll pray for you and you pray to God, too. Tell him how you feel and tell him all about that, and I'm sure he'll help you.'

Fry explained to him that God took all the spirits from the dead bodies and took them up to Heaven; there were no spirits around here on the surface of the earth. So Charles began to pray to Jesus and to attend services every Sunday.

It wasn't until about a year after that that Charles experienced a real emotional conversion experience. He went to Amarillo, Texas, to a church missionary convention with Fry, and on the last night of the services while Charles was kneeling in prayer, he was saying to God:

I want to be one of your sons, and forever you guard me and watch me, and take care of me, because I have been in a lot of pain and sickness all the time. I will pray to you all the time, as long as I live on this earth. Make me well now, make me happy, make me strong, and I am not going to use any medicine men again.

As he prayed, a missionary came around and patted him on the shoulder saying to him that he was surely going to be a good Christian now: "(When he patted me) that pain just busted up inside of me. I wished that he would hit me harder, I felt so good when he just touched me. All the pain I had all the time was all gone."

Charles was greatly excited about this experience. He lay awake all night thinking about it, and wanted to return to the altar to kneel again and again. Back at Rimrock Charles threw away his ceremonial paraphernalia, and became the major spokesman for the missionary.

PRESENT ATTITUDES

Having given up medicine men and Navaho religion, Charles regards their taboos, fears, rituals, etc. as a "lot of superstitions." He wants all his children to become Christians, and none of them is very familiar with Navaho chantways.

Charles' cabin is the most white-like in the area. It has two rooms, a gabled roof, glass windows, a wooden floor, conventional white-type furniture, and heavy paper covering for the blank walls on the inside.

In the many informal conversations Charles had with me, there were several themes that seemed to run persistently through his thinking.

a) Charles feels very strongly the press of the land problem. His antagonism toward the Mormons in the struggle for land is very strongly felt, and he is convinced that a solution to this pressing problem would go a long way toward alleviating many of the tensions within the Navaho community. The Mormons are constant thwarts of this hope.

b) Aspirations toward white patterns of life. Charles demonstrates a great deal of "self-hate," constantly criticizing Navaho ways; the way they fail to keep up the roads, their mistreatment of their horses, their generally

"wild" ways; dirty, poorly dressed, superstitious.

c) Charles feels very strongly that the Navaho community is against him. Since his series of misfortunes connected with his wives and referring back to his lightning accident, the community had actively brought sanctions to bear against him. At one ceremonial he was actually beaten up by some young drunkards. Frequent gossip about his bringing about the death of his wives has now been replaced by epithets relating to the missionary; when he goes near a sing, or any place where drunks are, he is hailed with "here comes Jesus Christ," or "here's God." He fears the ever-latent possibility of violence at their hands.

d) Charles is not so emotionally enmeshed in the fundamentalism of the Galilean church as the Frys are. He is a firm supporter and believer, but regards the church as an important institution in his move toward throwing off Navaho ways and becoming like a white man. He gets the security of religious experience, but regards the role of the church objectively enough to disclaim any belief that the Galilean way is the only way. If the land bitterness should be settled somehow, the Mormon church would do as well. The important thing is that it be a white church, and, since his conversion, that it be a Christian church.

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

Charles is short, slender of build, and dresses in the traditional men's cowboy costume. He characteristically has a sort of sad half-smile on his face, and though very soft-spoken is poised and assured in his addressing of white people. Among the Mormon traders Charles is known as the "smartest of the Rimrock Navahos" because he doesn't spend his money recklessly, run up huge debts, or take anything offered without considering its value. He was reputed by the trader to have a considerable sum of money hidden away somewhere, because unlike most, his yearly income from sheep is never wholly turned back to cover debts. In recent years it is said that he has opened a bank account.

The Navahos have spoken of him as a smart man and a "good talker," so it is clear that his relationships with Navahos are rather mixed. He has been proposed as Chapter Secretary

more than once, but has declined each time. His *TAT* ratings show him to be high in Leadership drive as well as general Anxiety. He is low in Recognition and Affiliation needs, and medium in Dependency. His situational choice score shows him to be in the high range for white identification, somewhat lower in leadership drives, and low in dependency, but corresponding in other respects to the *TAT*.

Charles Yazi is the only male convert to the Christian church who has reported marked emotional conversion experiences accompanied by disappearance of certain psychosomatic symptoms. The curing aspects of Galilean church membership are much more pronounced among women, where there are at least half a dozen strong conversion experiences described, and frequent minor curing experiences. Marcos is the only other man whose history suggests a possible connection between this participation and the elimination of symptoms. (Cf. below.)

Assuming no unforeseen catastrophic changes in the flow of events at Rimrock, it seems likely that Charles Yazi will remain a

strong member of the Galilean church as long as the church will stay at Rimrock. Although Charles speaks of Marcos as his "best friend" and local Mormons speak highly of Charles, it is doubtful that Charles will become interested in the Mormon church. There are several reasons for this. Perhaps the two most outstanding that occur to me are his high hostility toward Mormons because of the land situation, and the different character of Mormon church services and participation. The Mormon church, when it reaches a full operating level will probably be characterized by the sort of affiliation which Charles and other strong Galileans have not been able to establish successfully with their fellow Navahos. For the reasons outlined above in the analysis of these two churches, Charles would find less satisfaction in the Mormon milieu. His children however, lacking Charles' life experience relative to his father and his wives, will probably never become as intensely strong Galileans, and if the Galilean church leaves Rimrock and the children return, it is conceivable that they may become Mormons.

NANABAH AND SALLY YAZI—STAUNCH GALILEANS

Nanabah and Sally Yazi Domingo are taken together here to serve as illustrations of the life circumstances of two of the staunch female participants in the Galilean church. Nanabah is Sally Yazi's mother, and since Sally Yazi and her husband Jim Domingo live matrilocally, their lives have remained rather closely inter-related.⁴

Both Nanabah and Sally Yazi are among those half dozen or so Rimrock Navaho women who have experienced the emotional conversion experience described in the text above. Both of the women are strong participants in regular church services, offering long testimonials and enthusiastic singing. Nanabah, not infrequently, sings Navaho hymns solo in front of the Galilean congregation. Sally Yazi is a regular member of a ladies' quartet which often performs when services are finished on Sundays.

LIFE STORIES

Nanabah is a daughter of the Old Headman, Mr. Moustache's father, through his second wife. This branch of the Old Headman's family is described below in the life story of Marcos, Nanabah's brother.

As a child with two older sisters, Nanabah begins her story by recalling the hardships of life in the days of the early Navaho re-settlement at Rimrock:

I didn't know about all these fruits and other kinds of food that we eat today; never tasted it. We just ate corn meal and some kind of weeds, and wild plums, and a little wild potatoes. And I didn't have any shoes to wear like these I have on today. And not any kind of material to wear like this with designs on it, or any kind of velvet. What we used to wear for dresses was just plain white material, and just cut along the sides to make a straight dress. . . . No Mormons used to live over there in Rimrock then, where the material came from.

⁴ Cf. the case study of Jim Domingo, in Vogt, 1951.

Growing up, Nanabah remembers beginning to learn some of the womanly arts, such as carding wool, and weaving. But a large part of her life was spent in sheep herding:

When I was a little girl we didn't have any kind of dolls or any toys like we have today, so we used to go out and herd sheep. There used to be lots of grass and lots of water, so the sheep didn't used to go all over the place (as they do now), but just stayed together and ate the grass. And we had a chance to play. Sometimes we used to go in the water and swim in the water . . . and play with frogs, and we used to kill them, and the water snakes—we just killed them, and all kinds of other lizards and things like that—killed them.

Even the little girls indulged in the childish sport of chasing prairie dogs, killing them where possible, and roasting them. Bow and arrows were both for fun and to bring home food when possible.

Nanabah does not mention Marcos in her early life story. The only male figure mentioned on her age level is her half brother Frank. Discipline seemed to come mostly from the mother, and moral teachings as well as general worldly learning, from the father.

We used to do all kinds of things . . . (but) when we were little children my father and my mother never used to spank us for all those things. Just sometimes my mother used to take a stick and hit us on the hands if we didn't do something she asked us to do.

And my daddy, before he died, used to talk to us in the hogan every night. He used to talk and talk about all the things we shouldn't do. And while he was still talking it used to make us very sleepy and I used to fall asleep while he was still talking.

He used to teach us how to take care of our home, and how to take care of ourselves, and how we should take care of all our horses, and sheep. And what we shouldn't do is not to steal, and all other things that are not right. He said that you shouldn't go out with anybody else's husband. And my father told me all these things, and I didn't do any of the wrong things all my life, and now I'm teaching my children the way he taught me. . . . He used to encourage us to live this way so that when we grew up and had a home of our own, we would have some sheep and horses, and have food to eat and meat to eat, and wouldn't be hungry. . . .

Early in the morning when he got up he started to talk to us again about these things while we were in bed. He used to tell us to get up and go out and take the sheep to the water while it was still cool. And he said, 'Don't let the sheep be hungry, or the horses.'

Nanabah, now 62 years old, says that she can hear her father's advice still ringing in her ears. "It seems to me like he just taught me this morning."

The Old Headman was very religious, and Nanabah remembers his daily morning prayers. However, Nanabah herself never learned any of the prayers or ritual acts, because her mother never taught them to her. Moreover her father, as Nanabah recollects, advised the girl children to stay away from the night ceremonies, particularly the "Squaw Dances" because of the danger of falling in with wild young men.

And so we grew up to over twenty years old without ever bothering with men and boys, and my daddy was still living at that time.

Nanabah's early account seems marked with a reverence for her father, accompanied with a hostility toward her mother that gives rise to a certain distortion of the facts as they appear from other sources. Her mother was the only person mentioned in connection with discipline, as noted above, and she blames her mother for the separation of her parents:

My father was an old man, and my mother ran away right there. I don't know where my mother went. The people said that she was way down near the railroad. And my father was getting to be an old man—he couldn't do anything for himself, and my older sister and I, we stayed with our father to take care of him.

Apparently Marcos, who does not mention this incident in his life story, stayed with the mother. The question of who actually cared for the Old Headman in this period is in doubt. Although Nanabah and her sister may have tended to him for part of his time and needs, it seems rather indicated that he remained closer to the family and "outfit" now headed by Mr. Moustache but then comprising the children and relatives of Headman's first wife.

Life was not an entirely happy one with her sisters. There was a great deal of sickness in the family, and Rudolfo's wife, Nanabah's older sister, died after a long illness following the loss of one of her children. Rudolfo, grief-stricken over the illness of his wife, killed Charles Yazi's father as having witched her (cf. Charles Yazi's life story).

Nanabah had a rather rapid succession of not

very stable marriages, from which, however, she bore several children:

That man from Flat Cone (Mucho) just came around and married with me—I don't know how he divorced his first wife, but he came over and married me. And then when I have a baby from him, he ran off and left us. (That was Ken Chamiso, born then) . . . His mother had brought eighteen sheep and some horses for him to marry with me, (but then I found that) he was a drunkard. Once we went to Laguna fiesta, and he got drunk and when we were coming back he hit me with a pistol and I ran away from him. Then he just went back to his mother.

Then another man came around and brought some cattle and asked my mother to marry me. He had another wife in Red Cliffs, that's where he was from, but she was too old to be a good wife to him any more, so he just stayed here all the time. That man stayed around for many years and I had four children from him. . . . Then that man ran away and married my sister, and he took her back to Red Cliffs with him and stayed there with her. . . .

Then the last husband (actually there is another one on record that Nanabah omits) was Leon. I didn't know that he had another wife down there. He used to go down there and I found out that he had another wife down there, and I just left him.

In her married life, Nanabah still frequently visited with her aging father, bringing him gifts of food. This mention seems to contain an item of internal contradiction in Nanabah's story, with reference to who cared for her father. Apparently the earlier reference to her father's being taken care of exclusively by herself and her sister referred to a rather brief period.

The period following the death of Nanabah's father was one of frequent illness, and attempted cures of every sort. These attempts at cures comprise every song ceremonial commonly practiced in the Rimrock area, as well as such other available devices as Salceda sucking cures. These cures usually lasted for a brief period, following which Nanabah would suffer a return of the old ailments.

The arrival of Reverend Fry at Rimrock provided for her a new cure to attempt, with somewhat different characteristics than the old ones. Her testimonials in church provide rich accounts of how she had tried and tried through conventional techniques to become cured, but to no avail. The new church with its doctrine of a strong father figure through

whom relief of guilt-type anxieties could be sought, seemed much more successful:

Then Reverend Fry came to Rimrock and I used to go to church every Sunday. I did all I could with the medicine men, but every year I was getting worse. And the missionary told me that it was not right. But I still kept having medicine men, and I was getting worse the next year, I couldn't walk with one leg, and I couldn't do anything with one arm (left leg and right arm), and the missionary had to come over here and pray for me, and show me the way. He told me that I had to pray to the Lord, and not unto *something that is not living*.

Nanabah began to come to the altar on Sundays to "give herself to the Lord." She asked the Lord to heal her, because she had tried everything she could with her own religion to no avail. She promised the Lord that she would have no more sings, and would be his child. Returning from church, still suffering from her (hysterical) limb-incapacity, Nanabah experienced the following "miraculous" cure:

It was raining a little bit when we started for home, and while we were coming up one of these hills, the horse got tired, and we got stuck in the mud coming up the hill. So I didn't know what to do. All my children started walking toward home, and I was just sitting in the wagon. Couldn't walk. So I got out and said to myself, 'Let me see. I'll try to walk.' Then I started to walk. I walked all the way home, resting only in a couple of times along the way. From that time on I never used a medicine man again . . . so I believed that the Lord healed me, and I worship only him today.

Nanabah very quickly experienced another miracle which added additional support to her new conviction:

. . . They told me that our corn and squash in the gardens were all dying because it was too hot, and no water. So for this reason I went up into the hills to pray. It was two days before that I had accepted the Lord, and then I asked the Lord to send some rain down into my garden, so that my corn might grow up, and I would have something to eat, and something for my children. And I said to the Lord, 'Please send us the rain today, tomorrow, or the next day.' Then I returned. And there was a little cloud, and by the time I got home, and began to eat dinner . . . my grandson came over and said, 'Grandmother, right there it's raining—just over there in our garden!' And I said, 'Yes. I prayed to the Lord, and asked Him to send water to my garden.'

Pretty soon it started to rain just around here—around my house—and everyone had to take their plates with their food into the hogan. And I thought to myself, 'I want to stay right outside there. I asked for water, so why should I run inside the house.' And there was no lightning or thunder, and the rain drops were about an inch around. . . . Within four days everything turned to green. We just had rain just about a square mile around where I live. Everybody came to my home, and they told me that they were sure amazed at what caused this grass to turn green . . . just a little place around here.

I know the Lord can do all things. From that day on I began to pray every day—sometimes four times a day—and in the night too.

Nanabah comments that even for some time after these experiences she still had the "carnal spirit" in her, because she still scolded children. But recently, at a Galilean camp meeting, she learned about how to have the holy spirit come into her:

And I came to the altar and began to pray again, and the power of God came into me, and cleaned out my heart. Today I never get mad, and I love my grandchildren, and He guides me in truth.

Sally Yazi, born of Nanabah's last formal marriage, did not experience the actual instability of her mother's previous ties. She did, however, doubtless experience those personality peculiarities of her mother which made her marital ties so unstable, as well as the situational effects of her mother's feelings about having failed at marriage so many times. The records of the field workers through this period give evidence that Nanabah's relations with men did not stop at the formal severance of her last marital tie. There are rumors of affairs with other men, and it was generally felt that Nanabah was not the easiest person to live with. Her behavior was described as loud-mouthed, scolding, rough talking, and generally crotchety. She spoke up at meetings and asserted herself on a variety of issues.

Like her mother, Sally Yazi speaks near the beginning of her life story of playing with dolls, gathering foods, playing at roasting things, etc. In the first paragraph of her story, however, we get the picture of Nanabah in her pre-Christian (but post father's death and post-marriage) period.

One time my mother told me, 'You're not going to eat all day because you didn't do what I told you, and

you just went out and played all day.' . . . Sometimes when we did that we were afraid to come back home, so we just stayed away and made a little camp in the fields or garden, and made a little fire, and got some corn and ground it on some rocks, and we used to roast the corn and eat it. Sometimes we did that (for fun) when we were supposed to be herding the sheep.

Sally Yazi was an inquiring soul, but her questions received little adequate answer:

I used to feel about this world . . . down in the canyon, about how pretty it all looked—the rocks, trees, pinyons, and grass—how pretty it sure all looked. Sometimes I used to think to myself about this, and about how I was alive, and sometimes I used to ask my mother, but nobody knew. And sometimes I used to go out under the trees by myself and talked to myself—just like I'm talking to you now, about the world—how the world was going, and how I lived, and who takes care of the world. But one time I was talking to myself then, and my older sister came over and asked me what I was doing over there and who I was talking to. And I didn't tell her about all those things.

Although all men surely feel a certain inquisitive attitude toward the world, its workings and causes, these questions become most poignant for those who have suffered unexplainable deprivations or torments.

In Sally Yazi's case, again, it was her mother who was the agent for disciplinary action. Her mother also taught her the womanly arts of weaving, carding, etc. Sally Yazi was not allowed to go to school, though she wanted to, because of the attitude of her mother's mother.

This same grandmother, who had disciplined Nanabah when she was a girl, is mentioned by Sally Yazi as having spanked and scolded her. Sally Yazi tried to sneak off to meet the schoolman, but was caught before she could be successful. She follows the accounts of her wishes to go to school and the successful attempts of her family to thwart these wishes, with the statement that following that she began to start in "all those evil ways."

The home life of Sally Yazi, besides being dominated with the personality of her mother and characterized by a certain instability in the area where most growing children are accustomed to know a father, was a locus for frequent sing ceremonials because of Nanabah's malaise. Sally Yazi remembers disliking many of the events connected with carrying through the ceremonials; e.g., drinking the emetic,

which she noted had been mixed with the unclean hands of the practitioners. When her two sisters died, Sally Yazi showed her defiance for the conventions of her parent and these medicine men by not observing the customary taboos.

Her first experience with men was in a manner characteristic for that family—arranged by Nanabah—and Sally Yazi responded with the rebellion characteristic of her own personality.

There was a man from way down there near the edge of this Navaho country—I didn't know his name—but my mother told me to marry him. I didn't want to marry that man. They brought that man one day and prepared a Navaho celebration and marriage feast for us, but I didn't want to marry that man—so I just went out and I didn't return—so I never met that man. And I didn't want to marry that man so I went out to the sheep camp pretty far off from my house, and just stayed out there until my sister came and told me that that man had left for home. And my mother told me to marry another man—that boy's brother. And then I didn't want to marry him either, so I told my mother, 'Why don't you marry him yourself?' When they got together for the meeting, I never stepped inside the hogan.

Sally Yazi did not object to these marriages because she disliked males. On the contrary, she and her sister, while out herding sheep together learned to know men, and to have boy-friends. Sally Yazi had an extended affair with one of the Luciano family men, who took her around to town and to various ceremonies and festivals. She bore him a girl, but the father died before they reached their first anniversary. His death was indirectly caused by drunkenness, in that he froze to death lying in the snow after a heavy drinking bout.

Sally Yazi continued to "run around" to sings, and to meet men under those circumstances. In the course of these affairs, Sally Yazi became involved with Bob Johnson, then married to her older sister Bessie. Somehow Nanabah found out about this affair and insisted that her daughter (who refused to heed the mother's word in these matters) be brought up before the council of the Rimrock people. When the council met, they found Sally guilty and sentenced her to a period of work at Tselizhine, though she herself refused to admit having had this affair.

When Sally Yazi returned from Tselizhine

her sister invited her to come and live with her and Bob Johnson as a second wife. This way she bore Bob a child.

I stayed there for about three years, but somehow I didn't like it. I used to go home to my mother very often with my little girl, but every time I did it Bessie came over to bring us back home with her. . . . And he sure used to get mad at us—almost every day—even if he wasn't drinking. I sure used to get scared that he would get after me. He used to take a stick and sometimes beat me and sometimes Bessie. I was sure scared all the time. . . . And he used to sometimes sell our sheep without asking us, so he didn't help us, just took my things away. . . . He used to even take our jewelry, bracelets and necklaces, and take them over to pawn them, and never took them out . . . so I left him.

Shortly after this, Sally Yazi began to help Margarita Luciano with her sheep, and met Jim Domingo there. The dominance of Sally Yazi over Jim Domingo is noted in Dr. Vogt's case analysis of Jim, and we get the flavor of it in Sally's account of how she structured the marriage situation:

When Jim came back he told me that he wanted to marry me, but I told him that it didn't work very good for him to have two wives, because I tried that before with my sister, so he better go back to his other wife. But he didn't want to go back. So we got married and started to go around, and everything is pretty good today.

Sally Yazi claims priority among her extended family members for active interest in the Galilean church.

I was sick. That's why I went up to the altar the first time . . . to pray for me. But I didn't know that if you're a Christian you shouldn't worship anything that isn't living—like the moon, and mountains. So we put up a sing for myself, and Frank Miguelito's father put up the sing for me. I was sleeping while they did it—I just took a rest. While I was asleep I hear somebody tearing the material—it sounded like that—and right there I opened my eyes and looked at that man, and just about the same time he made some motion like putting something in his pocket. There was a new quilt beside him, and I looked at the quilt and a little piece of it was torn off it. I went out and asked Jim why that man was tearing the quilt . . . that man, whenever he came to my house, he always took my comb and took something off it—and always took my shoes and took something out of the inside of it.

Sally Yazi became terribly concerned about why Frank Miguelito's father had torn off the

piece of quilt, and told her mother about it. Nanabah began to go around inquiring about it, and hired a hand trembler to tell of what was going on. Peggy Francisco and her husband came for the hand trembling, and Peggy made the following pronouncement:

The little piece of quilt that he tore off—he still has it in his house, and he thought he would take that and put it into a grave, and some of your hair he took too, and some turquoise from your beads—and he took that with the cloth and hair from your house . . . and that stuff is still in his house—so you can go and get it—ask him for it.

Nanabah called a council meeting again, and this time, after the character of the accused was discussed, it was decided that he was innocent. Sally Yazi was asked to shake hands with the man she thought had witched her, and the affair was closed as far as the community was concerned.

Attempting to continue with her Navaho ceremonial cure, Sally found that Eddie Cochise would not sing for her because she was three months pregnant. He told her to call him again when she had had her baby. So Sally Yazi began to attend church more and more frequently, and began to learn of the Galilean doctrine. She found some of her questions answered that she had been asking since childhood:

I started to think that *diyin* means God, and that there is a true God somewhere—that's why I'm living today. Then I understood more about it, when I came up to the altar. This time I decided not to backslide any more (i.e., by having sings).

Since that time Sally Yazi has thrown away her Navaho religious paraphernalia, given up her earlier promiscuous practices, and begun to attend church regularly. She and Jim have built a white-type house, with water-proofed pitched roof, beds, and an enamel cook-stove. Sickness and bad dreams have passed away, in large degree, from the family.

When I wasn't a Christian I used to like to wear all kinds of things—nice clothes, nice materials, and to get things for myself, and not to think about other people; I sure used to love to have all those good things for myself. And I sure didn't like to give my things to other people to help them. All those things are not right. And I heard about what Jesus said in the Bible. 'All the earthly things of the world must pass

away at the end of the world. But my words shall not pass away.' So I know that all those things that I used to love to have will all pass away. But the word of God is forever.

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS AND ANALYSIS

I do not have *TAT* protocols on the two women here discussed, but a few comments on the life-courses might be appropriate even without a detailed psychological analysis.

Nanabah, previously noted for her cranky behavior, seemed to me to be rather friendly and gentle in recent visits. She has, apparently, found a suitable outlet for her various personality needs which allows her to relax the generally hostile attitude she was wont to display to the world.

Her illness commenced shortly after the death of her father, and her cures commenced shortly after hearing of the unquestionably potent father figure of God. Her relations with Navahos had, prior to her conversion, been rather mixed. She was noted for her strength and ability to speak up in affairs of community interest, as well as a certain kindness, or at least succor, in the matter of bringing up several orphaned children connected somehow with her life-course. On the other hand she was not known as pleasant, friendly, or affiliative, and she stepped on many toes in the course of her community relations.

The church and the security it offers is a satisfactory channel in her old age for the needs she was feeling with such increasing force that she lost the capacities of her limbs. Though still complaining frequently, in a rather hypochondriac way, about the state of her health, she seems in general rather satisfied with her life-course and her church activities. I believe that she will remain a stable staunch church member as long as the general church situation in Rimrock remains stable.

Sally Yazi, deprived of a stable father figure and rebelling strongly against the crankiness and stringency of her mother's discipline, grew up inquiring beseechingly of the world what made it the way it is. She resented her failure to get a white-type education, and felt a strong deprivation in this area. Her promiscuity with men as she grew older led only to unhappy experience, and she sought a person to help her achieve the status and respectability she de-

sired. Jim Domingo had the wealth and family position, was of a sufficiently submissive personality that he could be moulded to her wishes, and had a "toe-hold" in white ways. The punishment Sally Yazi received in her generally not rewarding relations with her fellow Navahos culminated in her witchcraft experience, and when she failed to receive the community's recognition at that time, the church came along to fill the need.

Sally Yazi is known, even among church members, as one who holds in complete disregard the old conventional "superstitions" of Navaho belief. She goes to funerals and tells of them in church, scorns Navaho religious ways and her own former sinful practices. She is still not an easy person to approach, and I had difficulty in working with her. After her life story was told, she refused to cooperate fur-

ther in the matter of psychological tests, and has refused to help other field workers. Jim Chamiso has told me that he does not get along well with her either. For the most part, however, she has found in the church a group of persons who share her feelings about Navaho life, her shame over her earlier "sinful" life. The church provides a way out for bolstering her moral ego-picture needs, as well as needs for dependency. She and Jim are increasing their assemblage of white material culture traits, and though neither of them speaks much English, their interest in white life is among the most intense among church members. It seems certain that their children will not undergo the same deprivation in the matter of education that they have felt, and that they will continue to maintain their position in the Galilean segment of Rimrock Navaho society.

PEDRO MIGUEL—A DOUBTFUL GALILEAN (SYNCRETISTIC TYPE)

In the category of Doubtful Galileans I have classed those individuals whose conduct was characterized by ambivalence in the matter of religious practice. For the missionary's part, the practice of Navaho ceremonial ways together with the ways of the Galilean church was intolerable. To accept completely the missionary and his teachings, this incompatibility would have to be recognized and observed in conduct as it was with the Staunch Galileans. The distinguishing characteristic of the syncretistic type of Doubtful Galileans is that in each case there is proclaimed a desire to keep both ways—the Navaho and the Christian. Although it was quite a frequent occurrence to have elements in Christian doctrine identified with similar elements in the Navaho doctrine, Pedro was the only one with whom I spoke who believed that both were really two versions of the same story.

LIFE STORY

Pedro was born on June 18, 1911. His father, Sola Blackbird, left his mother shortly after his birth to marry another woman. His mother, Dobah, was Charles Yazi's sister (cf., life story of Charles Yazi), and Pedro's early years were spent in the extended family of which Charles became the head.

Pedro's earliest recollections are of extreme hardship:

At that time we didn't have any clothes, no shoes—just used deer-hides for moccasins. Sometimes I herded the sheep. They chased me around all the time. 'Go do something! Get some wood! Get some water! Herd the sheep!' Sometimes I cried when it was cold. It was hard for me to get the wood.

We had a hard time to get along. I had no father. We just ate corn that's all. No flour, not any kind of fruit. We just used corn and sometimes some meat. We didn't have any horses, only a donkey on which I sometimes hauled the water and the wood.

When Pedro was about 14 years old the Indian agent came around and took him to school at Santa Fé together with several other Rimrock children. He found it hard to learn English, and was terribly lonesome at first. During the three years he stayed there without returning to Rimrock, Pedro spent one summer with a group of the boys working on sugar beet farms in Kansas. They were so poorly fed that they had to hunt and steal to get enough food to get along.

At the end of three years Pedro made his first visit home. All his close relatives came to visit his hogan when they heard he was back, and the warmth of his welcome is vividly re-

called. Pedro spent the summer re-learning how to ride a horse, herding sheep, and doing general work around home. Inasmuch as they had built a school at Fort Wingate, Pedro was sent back there in the fall rather than to Santa Fé.

When Pedro reached the sixth grade at Fort Wingate he succumbed to the continued urging of another Rimrock boy named Willie Mucho to run away to Rimrock. Pedro would never have done this himself and when he reached home, he found his welcome was overshadowed by his mother's and Charles Yazi's disapproval of the act. They took immediate steps to return him to school, and Pedro wasn't tempted to run away again that year.

In the summers he felt the contrast between the well-fed existence at Wingate with ball-playing, rabbit-hunting, and such things to fill the spare time and the hardworking, waterless, precarious existence at Rimrock. There were compensations; working in the fields or with the herds of sheep was at least for one's family, and the round of ceremonials had their lure.

I used to always have to go to the Indian medicine sings. I was trying to learn some of them, but I didn't. I'd learn how to sing a little, then I'd forget. I wanted to learn some of the stories from those songs, but I couldn't get any. You know those old people were very stingy about it—they don't let anybody learn—you've got to pay for it.

The ceremonial songs were very difficult to learn, and the short periods of exposure in the summers were not enough for Pedro to memorize them well enough. The winter stories, which could be told by the old medicine men only for a period of about three months in the winter time were missed by the schoolboys altogether, except for fragments handed down in the dormitories from those who remembered parts they had heard. These stories constituted the bulk of Navaho cosmogony and cosmology. The curiosity in such matters, which Pedro felt very strongly, was not satisfied by the brief and incomplete exposures to the authoritative specialists in Navaho mythology—the old medicine men.

Apparently Pedro had his fill of school life, for the next year he ran away twice. The first time he was persuaded to join several other

Rimrock children who were running away, and they stole three horses to make the trip. Arriving at Rimrock, he and two other boys, Billy Francisco and Charlie Mucho, decided to go to the sawmill and get a job rather than returning to their homes, because at home they would surely be found by the agent and returned to school. On a visit home after two weeks at the mill, Billy Francisco and Pedro were seen by the superintendent and returned to school. Shortly afterward, however, the boys stole two more horses and returned to the sawmill. This time the owner of the horses trailed them and found them. They were returned and locked up in the county jail for one month and seven days.

After the next summer Pedro did not return to school:

I didn't want to go back because I was ashamed—I was in jail for a long time. I liked to stay at home. You know when I stayed at school I was in danger of running away again, and I might have gotten in trouble again. That's why I didn't want to go back.

Pedro's wish to be a good man could only be achieved, he thought, if he did not expose himself to temptations that might get him in trouble. He didn't feel within himself the strength to resist these temptations. The big snow storm of 1932 brought great hardships in the life of the Rimrock herders. In Pedro's extended family all the horses were lost and 300 to 400 sheep.

The years passed in hard work, and at twenty-four Pedro was still single. He felt that he wanted to marry, but no one in his family had brought up the suggestion. Telling his grandmother of his wish, Pedro received the unhappy reply that since everyone around the Rimrock area was related to him he might never get married.

Some time later Pedro met Thomas' sister and a marriage was quickly arranged through the payment of twenty dollars to the bride. Pedro moved to her place and worked hard for several years building up the farm. They had three children, two boys and a girl. The boys received American names, the girl a Navaho name. When Pedro's wife was within three months of delivering a fourth child she suffered a miscarriage. Injuries to her back incurred through working in the fields while

pregnant caused her to be committed to the hospital for an indefinite period. It was at her suggestion that Pedro divorced her to marry her sister:

She told me, 'I'm no use to you now. I've got trouble with my back, so I'd just like to let you go and marry another woman. Marry my sister.' Well, I told her, that's all right if you really mean it. I'll try it, and you are not going to hate me and I am not going to hate you. We'll just help you a little bit—I won't go away any place—just stay around here. I'm not going to leave my kids. I'll just help a little bit all the time.

This arrangement was completed, and Pedro married his wife's sister. His first wife, apparently quite recovered, is now married to Ed Ramoncito, and the two families live in quite close cooperation. At the time of his second marriage Pedro paid sixty-five dollars for his new wife, gave thirty of thirty-five sheep to his first wife for the children, and in addition gave them all his horses.

Pedro separated his new wife's sheep from the herd of his wealthy in-laws, and the independent herd came to about 150 sheep. Working hard through the years Pedro built a cabin, fences, corrals, purchased more livestock, and in general fortified his economic position.

When John Landgraf, an anthropologist from Columbia, came to Rimrock (circa 1940) Pedro worked for him in his survey of the area. This work made a great impression on Pedro. His friendship with Landgraf led him to distinguish between the local whites and the easterners who are "kind and like the Navahos."

When the war came Pedro was rejected in the examination for the draft and told to go back home and work hard on raising sheep to help.

Through the years Pedro was most impressed by the urgency of the land problem in being forced farther and farther into the badlands by Mormon expansion. He was acutely aware of the futility of the Indian efforts but was never prominent as a leader in attempts to achieve community action.

PRESENT ATTITUDES

Acutely aware of the weakness of the Indian's position, Pedro's thinking reaches out for solutions from among the techniques con-

trolled by whites. Remembering his own premature termination of schooling, Pedro is keeping his children at home until they are older so that they will better understand the value of schooling and make a greater effort at a successful school career. He attributes his own failure to the lack of consciousness of the importance of white education and to naive immaturity.

Pedro's own experience with schooling, only partly effective in learning white ways and ending in a somewhat traumatic experience in dealing with white authority, was also partly effective in creating a serious deficit in his knowledge of Navaho mythology. Extremely curious by nature, yet far from intellectual, Pedro's many questions about the nature of the universe and its inhabitants find no satisfactory answers in his knowledge of either system, and in some cases find contradictions. Not having suffered any experiences which served to alienate him from Navaho religion and having married into a conservative family, Pedro still feels an affinity to Navaho ways, though they are inadequate in facing what he sees as problems and questions in his existence.

At our first meeting Pedro asked me which of the white churches is the really true one; each made the claim, and each differed in some way from the others. He had asked the same question of Dr. Vogt over a year earlier; at that time he included the "Navaho Way" as an alternative. He told me that he had asked the missionary about the question of having Navaho ceremonials and attending the church at the same time. The missionary, he said, had assured him that it was perfectly all right. This response may well have been a manifestation of Jim Edwards' change of heart. While Pedro is apparently becoming more "staunch" in his behavior patterns, he emphasizes the moral qualities of "being a good man"—no smoking, drinking, lying, cheating, swearing, etc. Participation in ceremonials as well as church services is taken as a matter of course. In making the same identifications between elements of Navaho and Christian doctrine, Pedro has concluded that they are two versions of the same story. The problems involved in being a "good man" in both systems have presented contradictions, paradoxes, which Pedro has resolved by stubbornly insisting that both are the same.

The differences that we see are due to the fact that the Bible was written down thousands of years ago and has not changed since then, whereas the oral tradition of the Navahos has suffered considerable distortion and variation because of the nature of its medium.

The basic elements of identity are:

a) God is the same person as 'ásža·nale·hé (Changing Woman) and Jesus the same as her son na·γe' ne·zγání (Monster Slayer) who made the world safe for the humans who came after him. About his brother, tóbážiščíní, Pedro vaguely supposes that "he is still around somewhere too."

b) The flood of the Old Testament is presumed to refer to the same episode as the rising of the waters which occasioned the emergence of the People from the lower worlds into their present habitat.

c) The Garden of Eden story, which is the charter for our present labor role differentiation between the sexes, is identified with the Navaho story which provides a similar charter through a different set of circumstances. Man (aške 'nád'a) proved himself stronger than woman in a contest of farming, and therefore his present roles were established and women were relegated to the menial domestic duties.

In each case a distorted picture of Christian conceptions is gained when the connotations of the Navaho counterpart are applied. 'ásža·nale·hé, for example, though credited with having performed many of the creative functions of God and being more beneficent in nature than most Navaho deities, is only one in an elaborate pantheon. Monster Slayer, though he did rid the world of its horrible inhabitants, thus "saving" the People, was not preoccupied with the moral nature of the men to follow him.

Through such partial understandings as these, Pedro is being brought closer to the Galilean church by his very belief of the Navaho stories he knows. They are, after all, the same, but:

I feel that the Navaho religion is not strong enough. And Fry, what he is teaching is strong. All the people who join that church say that's the truth.

It's hard to understand those stories . . . and when I go home the story I heard has gone out of my mind. You see, Fry asks too much . . . when you join the church you've got to be honest and true, and what he

teaches there you've got to obey—that's what God says. I mustn't cuss anybody, or laugh at anybody, or steal, or lie, or drink wine or whiskey, or to smoke. If you believe in God you've got to do this way—then he'll take you to be his child. If you don't, then he'll just throw you to the Devil.

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

Pedro is large-boned, husky, athletic of build. Quiet and pleasant in general attitude, Pedro impressed me with his gentleness toward his wife and children. He is very curious about the outside world; about different parts of the country, about how white people make the complicated things they have, such as automobiles. His admiration for these technological achievements doubtless adds to his feeling toward the whites' power.

Although Pedro is inquisitive about these and many other things, his intelligence is not superior. In his *TAT* ratings for the six variables used above, Pedro came out very high in Dependency and Leadership needs. His Affiliation and Recognition needs were low, and his Anxiety was intermediate.

Pedro has always had generally good relationships with both whites and Navahos. His early home life was unfortunate in the lack of a father. His *TAT* stories show a great longing in this direction. Furthermore the presence of a mental disorder in his mother, as well as other members of his mother's family, has undoubtedly served to increase Pedro's general level of anxiety. Although his score in leadership needs is high, it seems certain from the way Pedro expressed his outlook on what is to be done at Rimrock, that he expects action in conventional Navaho terms rather than by strong personal direction. There is some indication from his comments that he feels a large amount of frustration at the ineptitude of Navahos to deal with such problems as the land situation, and while he feels motivated to do something about this, he is torn between a wish to depend on a strong figure to accomplish these ends and his own wish to establish more control. The personal wish to control is hindered not only by the dependency needs, but also by his comparatively low education and intelligence, and his essentially Navaho orientation against personal exercise of power.

In Pedro's *TAT* stories, one sees a strong

desire to learn what it means to be a good person, and once learning that to receive sufficient bolstering support so that this ideal can be achieved. His experiences with Navaho life and people have been generally harmonious, outside of personal intra-family circumstances mentioned. He cannot, therefore, easily reject Navaho values and beliefs, and hate their exponents. He is plagued, however, by an ignorance of their substance. He knows only shreds of the Navaho cosmology, feels strongly the inadequacy of Navaho ways to deal with the white man's world. The Galilean church offers a bolstering for his wish to have the prerequisites of a moral man, and yet he is not ready to completely give himself over to a course that involves renunciation, even hatred, of his native culture.

In stressful situations, such as the occasion on which Pedro's mother suffered a recurrence of her old psychotic episode in the church revival meeting of 1949, Pedro swung away from the church in the direction of old Navaho life. His half brother, Yazi Miguel, also swung away from the church following this incident but has never returned. Pedro's wife has probably been a strong influence in the direction of

returning to the church, as well as his mother's brother, Charles Yazi. In addition Pedro has higher aspirations than Yazi Miguel, a greater striving in the direction of white culture and of personal improvement in a material sense. He feels bitterly the Indian's helplessness and the poor quality of the land they occupy. The Galilean church offers some modicum of answer for him in this complex of needs and external circumstances.

Pedro is a Doubtful Galilean, however, and it has been pointed out that there are a number of elements of Galilean teaching, particularly in relation to attitudes toward old Navaho culture, toward which Pedro is somewhat less resonant. In all probability Pedro would be a more likely candidate for Mormon conversion if one were to view only his psychological characteristics. His social circumstances, however, are such that it is rather unlikely that he will switch to the Mormon church, barring unforeseen eventualities. The strong influences of his wife and mother's brother (Charles Yazi), who do have characteristics which make them Staunch Galileans, will tend to keep Pedro directed toward this church, though not one of its strongest members.

JIM EDWARDS—A DOUBTFUL GALILEAN (CONFLICTFUL TYPE)

The type represented in this section by Jim Edwards, is characterized by overt behavior similar in all or most of the patterns to the Staunch Galileans, with one exception: the type here described hides powerful conflicts under the new "persona." These conflicts burst to the surface occasionally in behavior disapproved by the missionary; drunkenness, fighting, etc. In some cases the backslider completely terminates his relationship with the missionary, the pulls from the conflicting forces being stronger than those toward salvation. In many cases, however, the desire to be a "good man" is strong enough to bring the offender back into the fold begging forgiveness and promising faithfully to tread the "Jesus road" in the future. Bob Johnson is an example of this latter type, and Jim Edwards is one who kept coming back until the situation presented itself finally, after five years, for a more advantageous arrangement by making the break permanent. There are several pos-

sible causes for making a final break. In Jim's case it was a reconversion experience to the religion of his people.

LIFE STORY

Jim was born in the early spring of 1914 on the Navaho Reservation. Immediately after his birth, his mother's mother died. Moving out of her hogan, the family went to his mother's uncle's place where Jim spent his early years. Second in a birth order of four with one older and one younger sister, Jim was sent to school at the age of six and a half. The school was at the Bethlehem mission of the Christian Reformed Church, just east of Railtown.

Terribly lonesome and homesick at the school, Jim's early career there was a series of runnings away and punishments of every sort. Sometimes he made it all the way home, only to be fetched back by a missionary who followed him in a horse and buggy. After the first year Jim returned home for the summer, and

when the next school term came around, he attended Fort Wingate Indian School rather than the missionary school. Apparently he was happier at Fort Wingate, for he didn't run away all year.

Jim stayed at the Fort Wingate Indian School for three years, returning home for the summers. His father's livestock were increasing rapidly, and after the first year he had 1,000 sheep and 32 cattle. The third year Jim and several other boys were caught roasting corn and squash they had picked from the fields of a neighboring farmer for an improvised picnic. For punishment they were marched back and forth between the boys' and girls' buildings, holding their half-roasted booty. The shame of this public reprimand was more than Jim could stand. Once again he ran away. Passing Bethlehem after running for a few hours, he was back on the familiar trail home.

Arriving home, Jim was scolded by his parents for running away. As they had done on previous occasions, they emphasized their wish that he learn something and acquire an education which would offer a life that was much more comfortable and less difficult than theirs. After a week at home, Jim was brought back to the school by an Indian Service man who came after him.

With a sign marked "Home Runner" on his back, Jim suffered renewed humiliation at Fort Wingate. This time he decided that he would never go home again, perhaps feeling rejected by the attitudes of his parents. When the summer vacation came around, Jim took a job working on sugar beets. Missing him, his parents came to Fort Wingate to inquire where he was. At Fort Wingate Jim's parents were told that Jim had been sent to a school a great distance from there. Accepting this explanation, they returned and did not inquire further. It was six years later when Jim saw his parents again.

After six years his mother and father returned to Wingate once more.

They didn't recognize me, and I didn't recognize them. I had forgotten all about my mother and father. I didn't even think about my father and mother either. So they came there, and they took me back home.

After the summer at home herding sheep, Jim returned to school for another year. When

that year had passed, Jim decided that he wanted a job. When Jim asked him for help in finding a herding job, his father told him that there were plenty of cattle and sheep to be herded at home. Why go away and work for someone else? But Jim wanted money. At home the work was for the family sustenance; there was no cash reward. In his jobs around school and during the summers, Jim had learned to respond to the lure of cash returns. The profit motive remained a strong factor in Jim's value system.

Jim's grandfather, his father's father, was a white man, a rancher who lived with his Navaho wife near Holbrook, Arizona. The brother of this grandfather employed Jim as a cattle herder, and for the three years preceding the big snowstorm of 1932 Jim herded livestock at the ranch of this white great-uncle near Holbrook. Intending to return home for a ten-day vacation, Jim left Holbrook with a sack containing 150 silver dollars.

After a difficult journey home through the mounting snow, Jim found himself caught in a tremendous blizzard—fortunately safely in his family's hogan. At the trading-post where he stopped en route home, Jim felt strongly how effective his separation from his people had been. His Navaho was rusty, having fallen out of use these last years, and he did not know any of the people whom he saw in the store. He was a stranger among his own people.

The blizzard reduced the size of the Edwards herd from over 1,200 sheep to about 400. At Holbrook, Jim found upon his return that the effects of the storm were even more devastating. Returning home, Jim aided his father in an attempt to restore the Edwards wealth by constructing a distillery, and setting up a trade in liquor. They bartered cattle for booze. "Two gallons for one big cow. A gallon and a half for a little calf." With the innovation of the government stock reduction program in 1934, they stopped making the liquor. Their herd had increased considerably by then, however.

A neighbor reported the still just about the time operations were falling off, and the police came and hauled Jim's father off to St. John to jail. After a month in jail he returned home. The family had had to sell most of the cattle to pay off his 3,000 dollar fine. Apparently un-

daunted by this experience, the elder Edwards set up another still (the first had been destroyed by the police) and began to barter again, this time for sheep, five per gallon. When the government passed a law prohibiting the removal of sheep from the reservation, the Edwards' market was cut off. Their hogan was outside the reservation boundary.

When Jim was about 25 he decided to heed his parents' advice and learn to be a medicine man.

My mother told me to learn how to be a medicine man. She said, 'You can sing all your life. This is the way the Navahos say: if you don't do anything, any singing of any kind, when you get real old your parents, your family, and all the people don't take care of you because you don't know anything. If you know the different kinds of songs like the medicine men, your folks and relatives and all the people will take care of you, even when you're very old, even when you're going to die tonight. They will take care of you.'

It was arranged for Jim's maternal grandfather who was a medicine man to teach him some of the song ceremonials. Jim quickly learned parts of the Evil Way, Chiricahua Apache Wind Way, and the Male Branch of the Shooting Way.

At about this time, in 1935, Jim married his first wife. The marriage was arranged by his parents who paid the bride's parents their requested silver belt, thirty dollars, and three horses for the bride. At the marriage ceremony Jim told his father-in-law that he did not desire to practice the mother-in-law avoidance custom when the latter asked how it should be arranged.

The same year brought the death of Jim's mother from appendicitis. With the burial of his mother, a shift took place once again in the balance of Jim's motivations, and he left home to seek employment elsewhere. Although he said that he was happy as a medicine man and that the people liked him all right, the desire to make money drew him off to work at Mine-town, just west of Railtown.

For the next four years Jim worked at the mines visiting his wife at her mother's hogan on week ends and being visited by her at his cabin at Minetown occasionally. In the third year of his marriage, his wife bore him a son. In the fourth year his wife died of tuberculosis after extended attempts at ceremonial cures,

and two visits to the hospital. She was buried at the Ft. Defiance cemetery. The boy died of tuberculosis the next year.

After a time, when Jim returned to the hogan of his mother-in-law to collect his belongings, the old lady offered her younger daughter to Jim. The marriage was accomplished, and Jim took his new wife to Minetown. In 1940 she bore him a son.

Shortly after this a missionary of the Galilean church came to Double Mesa, near Mine-town, and Jim received frequent calls from him. Jim visited the missionary's place on Sundays and remembers the fine food that was served on those occasions. Apparently much in need of an interpreter, the missionary worked hard on Jim. He said:

I wish that you would become a Christian. But if you become a Christian you have to give up everything that you believe in all those gods and believe in the one true God. Then I told him I don't know. Maybe I just can't do that. I don't know if I can give up all my old things. The thing is that my wickedness is in drunkenness. So I don't know if I can give up liquor. And he said, 'Yes, the Lord will help you to give up all those things. If you don't give it up, when you die you'll go to Hell.'

Soon Jim was interpreting for the Sunday services, and for his trouble he received two dollars each week. When the missionary resigned because of illness and was replaced by Fry, Jim asked for, and got, a raise of two dollars on the threat of withdrawing his services. After about a year Fry left to work among the Ponca. He was discouraged by the widespread drunkenness and occasional violence among the Navahos. The next missionary who came was very well liked by Jim, and Jim quit his mine job to work full time for the missionary. After seven months of this work Jim suffered the first serious backsliding incident: he came back drunk from the ceremonials at Railtown. In a quarrel with the missionary, Jim decided that he didn't like the missionary work any way, and packed his things.

Working on the railroad close by at Trader-ville, Jim heard that a new missionary had come to Double Mesa and was looking for an interpreter. Jim didn't like the new missionary and so stuck on his job, going to Sunday services only. After three more months Fry returned from the Ponca, where he had found

the competition with Peyote too trying. Fry persuaded Jim to leave his job, at which he was making \$7.72 a day for a seven day week. When asked by Jim what the new salary would be, Fry merely assured him that the supervisors, who had the say in the matter, would give him a good salary.

The story of Jim's work with Fry at Rimrock, where they came shortly after, is told above. While Jim was working at Rimrock it was common gossip that he occasionally went on a drunk in Railtown. Such incidents as this and his frequent quarrels with his wife were played down by the missionary to whom Jim's services were indispensable.

The circumstances surrounding Jim's final big backslide are interesting:

I had trouble with my eyes, and although I went to the hospital at Tselizhine several times, they didn't cure it. My father told me once when I visited home, that our religion could cure what was bothering me; that I needed *golo ʔaiži*. I told him, maybe so, but I'm against all that now. I gave up all those things. 'Well,' he said, 'maybe you gave it up, but I think that's what's bothering you.' Then he said, 'I'm going to call a medicine man for you.' Then I stayed there for a couple of days and they sang that sing over me (Chiricahua Apache Wind Way) one night. As soon as I had the sing I went back to Rimrock, but I didn't tell Fry or any of the people about it. Then my eyes were all right. From there on I didn't care much about the gospel religion.

As was mentioned above, Jim neglected to translate Fry's preaching against Navaho religion after his re-conversion experience.

After another month I came back to my father's again. They made a sand painting for me of *yeibichai*, and some medicine man sang over me again. At that time I used to always have headaches. Sometimes when I lay down, when I got up again I started to fall over. . . . When they sang over me again, I never had a headache again.

PRESENT ATTITUDES

As Jim cast off what he regarded as the strait-jacket of his service to the missionary, he felt liberated:

When I resigned and came back from the mission, all those ties that held me tight were just loose from me. Since that time I can go anywhere; squaw dance, sing, movie, and smoke or drink. I don't drink very much; just a little beer once in a while.

Actually Jim drank a good deal more than his statement indicates. Trouble with his second wife led to their divorce, and his third marriage to the elder sister of the same family was going on the rocks because of his drinking. At his mechanic's job in Railtown he maintained rigid and exacting hours of work without missing a work day for two months. In December of 1948, however, he somehow terminated his job; he claimed because it was too dirty and that he had hurt his back loading pinyon nuts. The former reason seems unlikely in the light of his expressed liking for the job just previous to his quitting, and there is no way of checking on the latter at this time, because he was in the hospital at Tselizhine for another injury, sustained while pushing his car. It is possible that he may have been fired for failing to show up because his wife mentioned to me that he had been on a three day drunk just before he went to the hospital. In the hospital at Ft. Defiance he said:

Sometimes I feel this way about why I am in the hospital. The time that I was going to leave the mission, Fry and his wife told me that God is going to punish me some day with something. . . . 'Sickness, or death, or accident. I don't know which He's going to give you, if you go back to your old ways.' Maybe what they told me is true. Sometimes I think that way, that when you go away from the Lord something is going to happen to you, and I think this is why I'm in the hospital now . . . why I have the sickness. Sometimes I think that way, and sometimes I think it's not true. But I do believe in my own religion: that Earth is my mother, and Heaven is my father, and those four holy mountains we still pray to.

Each time I came to visit Jim at the hospital he was reading the Navaho translation of the Bible, *God Bizad*. He said that it was just to keep in practice in his reading of Navaho.

He was seeking, at the time of my departure, a job for the Indian Service. The next year I got word that Jim had been killed in an automobile accident while he was driving an Indian Service vehicle.

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

Jim was rather short, slender of build, and wore rimless glasses. He was soft-spoken, smiling, and generally active. He had a good sense of humor and was capable of putting forth a

great deal of sustained work if properly motivated. He was quite agreeable without being obsequious. The extent to which people have prevailed upon him as shown in his life story and narrative (Fry, to come back repeatedly; his wife, to leave) indicate that his agreeableness might have some deeper foundation in dependency needs.

Jim's *TAT* ratings showed him very high in Anxiety, and higher than most Galileans in need for Recognition and Affiliation. It was noted, however, that his record was an unusual one in the amount of conflict it contained, and even the affiliative responses seemed clearly tinged with aggression.

Although his background is not very well known because he is a non-Rimrock Navaho, it seems quite clear from his life story that sources of his conflict were to be found in his marginality as well as the circumstances sur-

rounding his early life and schooling. He was at first firmly attached to Navaho ways, but after frequent attempts to return to them from the white school proved punishing, he tried turning his back on them altogether. This was not possible in any very satisfying way, and his behavior was often colored with conflict (drunkenness), and, in the church, with backsliding. The deep-rooted Navaho feelings came back in a flood with his late cure, but his inability to readjust at that time caused only additional, subsequent torment.

Of his work for the Indian Service not much is known. There is some dispute in rumor about whether or not he was drunk when he was driving the vehicle in which he had the fatal accident. Whether or not he was, his conflicts were of such a deep nature that it seems certain his life could never have been a happy one.

MARCOS—A STRONG MORMON

Among those Navahos who were interested in the Mormon church, one could distinguish between those who were thought to be strongly enthusiastic participants (both by Navahos and by local Mormon whites) and those who had simply been baptized but underwent no consequent changes in life activity.

Of the former type, Marcos is recognized by all interested as being the strongest among the Rimrock Navaho. He has been ordained a "Teacher" in the Aaronic priesthood and is the only Navaho at Rimrock who has been so elevated.

LIFE STORY

Marcos was born about 57 years ago near what is now the Mormon town of Rimrock. He had four older siblings, all girls, and his next younger sibling was also a girl. Two boys followed, only one of whom survived to receive a name. Marcos' mother was the polygynous second wife of Mr. Moustache's father.

The earliest recollections with which Marcos begins his story find him living alone with his grandmother, isolated in a sheep camp by great snows. The hardships of life in those days were considerably more pronounced than at present, with the picking of wild seeds and berries prominent as a source of food.

Marcos remembers his joy at seeing his mother and father after the snows had melted sufficiently to allow them to come for a visit. A feast of meat and ground-corn foods marked the occasion, and when the snows had gone, young Marcos was brought back to the home of his mother and father. He played mostly with his sisters at this age.

In planting season, Marcos followed his father around and watched how he planted corn, with a pointed stick; how he cultivated the land, planted the squash, and tended to the tasks of farming without benefit of modern tools and equipment.

When lambing season came around, the youngster Marcos was given the task of tending to the young lambs. As he grew, he was called upon to help with such tasks as helping to chop and haul wood, hauling water, and cooking. He was taught to cook when comparatively young, and has enjoyed this task all his life. His principal playmates were still his sisters.

The next winter Marcos recalls, still before his tenth year, was spent again with his grandmother and sisters. His parents, off in a different sheep camp, only returned the next spring. Nanabah, Marcos' sister, became lonely for her parents and ran off to their sheep camp. When

the parents returned, Marcos remembers following his mother around while she herded sheep. This tie between mother and son was a very close one, and persisted throughout her life.

I used to obey my parents pretty good, so they never whipped me. They never did anything to me, because I did everything that they told me. They loved me pretty well, both of them, and they never did cuss me. When I started with the sheep, that became my work and took up all my time.

The next winter was spent with his mother and brother in the mountains to the east. Hunting for small game and trading his meat to the near-by Salceda for corn and wheat characterized that winter, but game was so scarce that they ran out of food before warm weather came. Young Marcos, tracking some unknown animals in the snow, came upon six horses which he drove back to camp. The hungry family decided that one of the horses ought to be killed for food. Marcos was given the job:

I wanted to kill one with a bow and arrow like in the stories that my father used to tell me about in the old days how they used to kill with just one arrow just like with a gun. There was one horse there that was fat, and I wanted to kill the fattest one. I shot the arrow at him . . . but it just bumped off him. The horse didn't do anything. I tried once more with another arrow, but it just bounced off again. My father used to tell me that even a lady could kill an animal with a bow and arrow, but I tried and I couldn't. . . . I knew that my father told me that my mother could kill with the bow and arrow, so I went over and told my mother to try it. She said, 'No. I don't think I'll shoot. I'm not as strong as you are.'

Finally despairing of killing the horse in this heroic way, Marcos took his mother's advice and killed the horse by using an axe. The meat provided them with more food, and material to barter to the Salcedas for corn and wheat.

As Marcos got older he began to help with farming activities. He learned about irrigation from a near-by Mormon farmer who had a small reservoir. The enjoyment of deer and antelope hunting colored these years for Marcos, and he felt more of a man through accompanying his father and uncle on these trips.

Marcos' father was the headman of the Rimrock Navahos, and at the same time enjoyed excellent relations with the Mormons of Rimrock town, having been among the first to

greet them and undergo baptism as an act of friendship. Although Marcos nowhere mentions this fact in his life story, Mormons of Rimrock regard that family line as being rather closer to their church than other Navahos. The proximity of this family group to the growing town of Rimrock also brought about such relations as sharing of irrigation techniques, hunting expeditions, hired labor, and other shared enterprises with the local Mormon farmers.

Marcos' brother was sent off to school, and Marcos' company was even more monopolized by women figures. He aspired to share the manly activities and prestige of his father and the line of men relating to his father through his father's other wife.

About this time I began to think that I was become like a man. I used to be herding sheep all the time. I wanted to quit that herding sheep. And I just wanted to go around where I felt like going. If Navahos were having a sing going on some place, I had to go out there without getting permission from my parents. I just kept on that way, herding sheep and running off to where some Navahos were having sings. . . . Sometimes they used to have chicken pulls, and they used to fight about that on horseback. I wanted to get in on that sport too, . . . and sometimes when we fought about the chicken, I won. . . . When the people have celebration, lots of them got drunk. I just watched what they were doing there, and somehow I started myself. That makes it more fun. So I kept on getting drunk too. . . . I had lot of friends, and they kept on buying it, buying it, and they had lot of fun. Mr. Moustache and Ricardo were good drunkards, and they made me start to drink. . . . Sometimes when I got drunk I used to have lots of money, and I bought whiskey with it, and when I got kind of crazy, someone would often steal my money. When I got sober again I used to think about my money, what I did with it, and sometimes when I lay in bed at night I thought about it. . . . What was the use of smoking, chewing tobacco, and buying whiskey . . . all those things I spent money for . . . and I found out it's no use and I wanted to quit.

Marcos comments that it took him quite a long time to follow through his resolution to quit these expensive and wasteful practices, for whenever he attended a celebration, he was approached by good-fellows offering him drinks and such, and found it difficult to resist. It was only some time later when he became a Mormon that he successfully quit all of the undesirable practices mentioned.

He often attended Squaw Dances and Yei-bichais at some distance from Rimrock, since these large ceremonials were rarely performed in the Rimrock area.

I used to run around among all those kinds of activities. I didn't stay at home much. One day my uncle talked to me. He told me not to do that. Not to monkey around so much, just to stay home and take care of those things I had at home. And he told me, 'You have to get married.' But I told him that I didn't want to marry. So I never married. I just said I didn't want a woman. Then my uncle bought some cattle and started to work on that, and the horses too. After a long time my mother asked me again, 'My son, I want you to get married.' I said the same thing that I said to my uncle.

This lack of interest in women characterized the life of Marcos from then on, and later, the life of his younger brother who returned to Rimrock only intermittently from jobs in the white world. Though he never took on the clothing of the opposite sex, it was repeatedly rumored among the Rimrock people that Marcos was *nadlé*—a transvestite.

Marcos' uncle, Old Man Tsosi, was repeatedly ill with a mental disorder, and required a series of sings, some of which Marcos attended. Returning from one of these sing-ceremonials, Marcos underwent the first of two unexplainable mystic experiences:

When I rounded up the horses and was driving them back toward home, I sure felt sleepy. So I wanted to get off the horse and go to sleep there. Finally I awoke and got up, about five o'clock, and it was a different place from where I had laid down. I was laying right under a young tree. But when I woke up it was under a big cedar tree. And I was just wondering how I got over there. . .

Marcos says that he never walks in his sleep, though he often dreams about walking to various places, apparently not in any unusual way. Medicine men whom he asked about it always told him that there was nothing to be done about it.

Not very long afterward, however, attending another sing at a distant Navaho community, Marcos underwent a similar inexplicable experience.

Not too long after these episodes, Marcos began to become ill himself. Returning from an unsuccessful trip to the White Mountains of Arizona to seek employment from some

white people, Marcos was taken with a fierce fever, and was bed-ridden for many weeks. His family tried many Navaho cures for him, and finally he began to rally. He came close to death, and when he recovered his "body was just a bag of bones," he was so thin.

From Marcos' life story it is difficult to determine the spacing and occasioning circumstances for his subsequent illnesses, but it is certain that he suffered a not-infrequent recurrence of the sort of malaise common among Rimrock Navahos. He complained of body pains and headaches; hand-tremblers advised him that the source of his pains lay in an old ailment, and that he had to complete an unfinished cycle of ceremonial songs.

Marcos closes his life narrative by telling of the death of his mother:

When I came home she was awfully sick, and I sent her to the hospital in Albuquerque. But it didn't do much good for her. She just came home, and then I took her to Fort Defiance. Didn't help much there either. So she just came home again, and we began to start hiring medicine men. But they didn't help either. So she passed away. She was sick for about one year. She had a big sore, and we tried all the American medicine, and all the medicine men, but it didn't cure it. Then she died. After that I didn't work for nobody. I just worked for myself.

The death of Marcos' mother, a long-suffering victim of cancer, marked the end of his free-story, and it is notable that he made no mention of his activities in the Mormon church, except in the indirect way of mentioning that he had given up drinking and smoking.

When I inquired about his participation in the church, he recounted the following story:

I don't know when I started; about ten, fifteen years ago. I never knew anything about it, about Sunday. Later I found out that these white people just worked six days and they don't work on the seventh day; that was the way I found out. When I didn't know about that I just kept on working, even on Sunday. So I found out that way, and that they go to church too, so I felt I wanted to go to church too. Well, I didn't understand what they were talking about, but I just kept on going and watching, that was all. I didn't understand English, but some of these Mormons knew a little Navaho, and they just told me about the Bible. They didn't have any interpreter to tell me about the stories, what they were talking about.

They just taught me about how to have a good home. And how to farm, how to raise the livestock. And they told me not to do anything that was wrong things. And just to be good, that was the only thing they told me. Those were the only things I understood about what they were talking about. After a while they told me that there were a lot of Navahos who became Mormons, but they never came to church. Lot of them became baptized, but they just forgot about it, and they never came to church. I don't know why they don't come to church. . .

If you don't believe in God, those people who do not believe in God will not go to Heaven. Those people who are sinners, will go in some other direction. That's the only story they tell, over and over again. And they just tell us to pray to Heaven our Father, and not to do what are wrong and bad things. If you are a liar or thief, they don't want that kind of man. If you have bad habits, they've got a place for those bad people. . .

Since the building of the new church near the center of the Navaho territory so that Navahos can come to it in greater numbers, but at a greater distance from Marcos' home, he has not been attending church very regularly. He has, furthermore, suffered a return of his old headaches:

The Mormons told me that there were 140 Navahos baptized in the Mormon church, but none of them come to church. . . I haven't been going for a long time now because I've been sick with these headaches. . . I haven't been going over to the new church—just haven't felt like it. Maybe I'm going to quit. (WHY?) Well, before when they had the church at Rimrock, I used to be able to go over there on foot every Sunday. Now it's too far to go over to the church they've built near the Day School. I don't own a horse, and it's too far to go on foot. . . Besides none of these people keep coming to church. Some of them come around for a feast or something like that. And then they keep coming back a few Sundays, but then when they find out what they have to do—that they have to give up a lot of things, smoking, and drinking, and all those bad things, they just drop out and quit. It looks like I'm going to be all alone over there—the only one who stays, so I guess I'll just quit too. I was the only one who kept coming to the church in Rimrock every week, and now that they have the church out there (just for Navahos) it looks like I'll be all alone out there.

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

Marcos is a tall, lanky Navaho man, who is rather poor-sighted and is forced to wear spectacles most of the time. His constant use of

eye-glasses distinguishes him from most of the local Navahos, and gives him a rather serious mien.

Although Marcos' father was the respected headman of the early Rimrock Navahos, his mother, though an active and prominent woman in local affairs, was clearly a "second" wife, in a prestige sense. The children of this second wife are distinguished for their multitude of deviant, or odd, personal characteristics, which may be, partly at least, genetic in origin. Marcos' younger brother is an unusually shy, retiring fellow who, like Marcos, dislikes women, and in addition seems to dislike Rimrock Navahos. He has lived away from Rimrock for many years, working mostly for railroad companies, and returning only intermittently to visit at home. Nanabah, whose life story is sketched in the chapter above, is a clear hypochondriac, and Marcos' other sisters have a large amount of sickness and instability.

In the analysis of Marcos' *TAT* protocol for the six variables described above, it was found that he was high in both Dependency and Leadership motivation. His needs for Affiliation and Recognition were in the middle range, while his Anxiety was found to be comparatively low.

Though Marcos has, in general, had good relationships with both Navahos and whites and has on occasion been suggested as candidate for various Chapter offices among the local Navahos, he has never formally held any leadership office. His leadership in an informal sense is considerable. He has acted as assistant and substitute headman for the group, and is co-leader of his local "outfit." However, he has never achieved the leadership status of his half brother, Mr. Moustache, let alone his father. Though Navahos, by and large, respect him as a good man, and a sensible one, he is considered odd and somewhat deviant.

In the situational choice test, Marcos came out with a roughly similar pattern to the above one, except that Recognition needs came out higher. His score in white identification was comparatively low, largely because he spoke so forcefully for the value of Navaho religious ways. This feeling obviously precludes Marcos' feeling any attraction to the Galilean church, and he has a history of close relationships

with Rimrock Mormons. The perhaps overly close relationship with his mother has been noted, and one might interpret Marcos' interest in the Mormon church as resulting from the sort of combination of dependency needs and high leadership and recognition aspirations which he derived from being a member of his father's line and a possible maternal over-protective milieu (by Navaho standards). Since he was unable to achieve these goals of leadership and recognition in Navaho life, he sought them in the deviant channel of Mormon church-participation. As the only regularly attending Navaho, Marcos achieved a degree of special nurturance from local Mormons, and was given an office of leadership through a system external to his local group.

It seems doubtful that Marcos will drop his Mormon activities after all these years. The prospects for him are indeed not bright, since

he is plunged back into an all-Navaho organization, a group which he found unsatisfactory in fulfilling his needs. It seems likely, however, that when the full-time missionaries resume their work, with the help of local people providing occasional transportation, etc., Marcos will find considerable support and pressure directed toward his participation in Mormon activities. He will probably be urged frequently to attend by his Mormon friends. Transportation will probably be offered to him, and he will find that other Navahos will be faithful attendants. Support will be given to his established status by the structure of the Mormon church. His apparent fears that by removal to the Day School he will also suffer removal to the old value system through which he could not fulfill his needs, may be seen as unfounded.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A¹

MISSIONARY'S WORD	NAVAHO INTERPRETER'S WORD	LITERAL TRANSLATION
1. Baptize	'aci-t'á·d tʰó 'álné·h	Head top water is made.
2. Christian	'o·lá·ni·	One who believes; believer.
3. Church	bi·yí' axání·zízah	In which people come together (but sodizin báxo·γan (prayer for home) is more common.
4. Commandment	a) bexaz'á·ni· b) bik'eh 'áxoní·ti·	a) Something that has been planned; regulation. b) Directing happenings.
5. Deliver	sí 'cə·ʒí'	Away from me.
6. Devil	bəhági' ár'èi ne·yiléhi	Who carries deadly things here and there (with him). (This con- cept is particularly remote from our concept of Devil.)
7. Devil's business	a) bəhági' 'át'é be· na·niš b) bəhági' 'ar'é ne·yiléhi bé· nahayá	a) Work with deadly things. b) This here ceremony with the carrier of deadly things.
8. Everlastingly punished	xol'a·gó· tʰi'xoni·do·	As time goes on he'll suffer (usually refers to present life. xol'a·gó· never used after death).
9. Fall (in sin)	bəhági' 'áza·	Death has occurred.
10. Forgive sins	bəhági' 'átèi 'šaḡdiná'ah	Deadliness, take it from me.
11. God	di·yin 'ayóit'èi	Holy one that is high.
12. God's religion	di·yin bixónt'i'	God's line (e.g. road).
13. Heaven	yá'a·š	Inner skies (sky vault).
14. Heavenly	yádi·xixi	Upper dark (sky opposed to earth).
15. Heavenly father	sit'a·' yá'a·sdi xoḡlô·ni·	My father in the upper dark you who exist.
16. Hell	a) xodo·k'á·t b) č'ṭ·di·t'a·h	a) Place of fire. b) Ghost land. (This concept is very remote from ours of Hell. Cf. Wyman, Hill, and Osanai, 1942.)
17. Holy Spirit	níłč'i di·yini	Holy wind (immune to attack).
18. Bad life (used in connection with describing Hell)	do· yá·xo·t'è·da	Not a good condition (of roads, weather, etc., but never used to connote a moral condition).
19. Lift up (e.g. the Lord lifts)	dego náši·la·	He raised me up again.
20. Lord and Master	bóxólní·hi· 'á·dó· na'ḡt'ini·	One in charge; and one that in- structs.

¹ This glossary of Navaho terms used by the missionary's interpreter at Rimrock represents my best efforts, as one whose linguistic training is extremely meager, to record some of the usages that figured importantly in missionary communication. I am grateful to Father Berard Haile for his help with the orthography and translations presented. Even without further analysis the limited list that I was able to compile clearly shows the urgent emphasis of the Galilean missionary and the secular and pragmatic "twist" that his concepts underwent as they passed through the medium of translation into conventional Navaho terms.

21. Lost	yó'í·yá·nt'é'i·	One who had gone astray but is recovered, lost but found again. (This does not mean morally lost.)
22. Miracle	'álíle·	Superhuman way. (Medicine men have it.)
23. Missionary (priest)	'é·' neišo·di·	Who drags the garment here and there.
24. Preach	xani'e·	The news way.
25. Punish	'at'xi'nixido·lí·ł	He'll make us suffer (while alive).
26. Saved	yisdáná'ǵá	He returned to safety (used for sheep—got through the winter).
27. Saviour	yisdá 'i·ní·li·	One that puts us in safety (not from sin, just from danger).
28. Servant (of the Lord)	báñda·l'a·'í	Messengers (who are sent).
29. Superstitious Ways	dinéǵí nahaǵái·	Navaho side ceremonials.
30. Trial and Temptation	xo·t'áhi· do· kót'êda bǵhági 'it'é	That which is planned along is not that way, it is deadly things.

APPENDIX B

SITUATIONAL-CHOICE TEST

THE FOLLOWING questionnaire¹ was administered to a sample of forty individuals chosen to represent the categories of Christians and non-Christians described in the text of Chapter IV above.

PART 1

Pick the ending you think is right (the way it would happen in real life).

1. (male version) A man spends many years working hard at his place fixing everything up pretty good and working hard taking care of everything. But nobody ever says anything about what a good man he is or what a good job he does taking care of his place. How do you think he feels about it?

(a) He feels pretty bad about it and wants people to appreciate what a good man he is and what a good job he does to take care of his place.

or (b) He is satisfied and doesn't care about what they say as long as his place is in pretty good shape and he's taking good care of his family.

1. (female version) A woman spends many years learning to weave pretty good blankets. She works at it for a long time and makes very many fine blankets, but nobody ever says anything about what a fine weaver she is. How do you think she feels about it?

(a) She feels pretty bad about people not appreciating what a fine weaver she is after she worked so hard to learn about it and made so many fine blankets.

or (b) She is satisfied with her weaving and doesn't care about people not talking about how good her weaving is, because anyway she makes fine blankets and can sell them for a good price.

1a. Is there any other way he (or she) might feel?

2. Somebody breaks into the co-op store and steals some money. What do you think the co-op manager might do about it?

(a) He might go to the headman and ask him to call all the people together and have a meeting about what to do.

or (b) He might get a few men together and tell them to follow him and they would catch the man who stole the money themselves.

2a. What else might he have done?

3. A man has a son in school in Albuquerque. The son has a chance to go east to college. The father thinks to himself:

(a) My son has finished his high school education in Albuquerque, and now it is time for him to come back and help his own people.

or (b) This is a good chance for my boy to go east and learn some kind of white job, like lawyer or doctor, and live in the city for the rest of his life.

3a. What else could he think?

(for females feminine pronouns were used)

4. A young man worked with his family for many years and learned how to farm pretty well. Then he has a chance to get two different pieces of farm land. One piece is a better piece of land for farming, but it's farther away from his parents' place. The other piece is not so good, but it's closer to home. What do you think he thinks about it?

(a) He might think that this is a good chance for him to get a place of his own, and get married and have a family. He thinks he can do it himself, so he takes the better piece of land even though it's too far away to get his mother and father to help him.

or (b) He thinks that he would like to have his own place and get married and have a family, but he takes the closer place even though it's not such good land, because in the closer place he can ask his mother and father for help and advice if he needs it. (for woman, marrying a man who has two chances, etc.)

4a. What else could he have thought?

5. A man gets elected to be the delegate for his people. He didn't ask to be elected. They just elected him. After a couple of weeks the people had a meeting, and this man who was elected got up and made a speech. What do you think he said?

(a) He told the people his own plan; what he wanted to do for the people of the community and how he thought it ought to be done. He said that he was going to lead his people to the better kind of things in his plan, and that he would work to get all those things for his people.

or (b) He might have asked the older men who were the leaders of the people what they thought he ought to do for the people of that community while he was headman, and they talked it over and made the plan up that way.

5a. What else might he have said?

6. A man lives in a place that has fine farm land, but all around his place it starts eroding, and arroyos start cutting through the land of his neighbors and

choices of situations and wording arrangements.

¹ Drs. C. Kluckhohn and E. Z. Vogt helped with

relatives. His land is all right, though, and it is in a place where he doesn't have to worry about arroyos cutting through. Most all of his neighbors and relatives have to move away to a place where the land is not so good, though. What do you think this man does?

(a) He stays there where he has better farm land, even though this means that he won't be able to see his friends and relatives very often.

or (b) He decides to move out with all his friends and relatives even though the land there is not so good, because he would be lonely way off there by himself when they all leave.

6a. What else could he do?

7. A man worries and feels bad about himself a lot of the time. He thinks many times that he's not a good man, and that he can't do anything right. Finally he gets sick. Why do you think he got sick?

(a) He got sick because he was a poor farmer, he couldn't get his work done, didn't have any children to help him, didn't eat good food for a long time, and finally he got sick worrying about that.

or (b) Maybe he got sick because he had been doing wrong things (like stealing, lying, fighting, etc.) and even though nobody can find out about some of the things he was doing, just the same he felt bad, and got sick over that.

7a. What are some of the other things he might have got sick over?

8. Some white people have a picnic and invite two of their Navaho friends to come along too. At the picnic they serve some bread and some stew. One of the Navahos there eats the stew by scooping out pieces with his bread the way the Navaho people do. How do you think the other Navaho feels about it?

(a) He feels kind of uncomfortable about the first Navaho using the Navaho table manners while he is eating there.

or (b) He thinks it is all right because that is the Navaho way to eat the stew even though the white people have a different way.

8a. How about in a cafe? (if the answer is b)

9. A man (family for a woman) is living by himself quite a ways from his nearest neighbor, just with his wife and family. What do you think he does most of the time?

(a) He feels pretty lonely most of the time, and he spends a lot of the time riding around to sings and meetings all over the community to see his friends, and he wishes that he lived closer so that he could see them more often.

or (b) He goes to sings sometimes when they're around his outfit, but most of the time he is just satisfied to stay home and take care of his family.

9a. Is there anything else he might do out there if lonely?

10. A man is thinking about getting married to two

different women. These women are both good housekeepers, and both know how to cook and weave and do the other things he likes in a wife. Which one do you think he married?

(a) The one who is strong (in character) and can go around a lot with him and can help him to make decisions and give him advice and help to take care of him.

(for a woman—"something like her father used to do")

or (b) The other one who is more quiet, and she would just stay around the home and attend to the housekeeping; he would have to make all the decisions for her and help to take care of her.

10a. What are some of the things that make it easy for a man to get along with his wife?

11. A man has a bad dream about being lost in the woods alone and getting into some kind of trouble there. Why do you think he has the dream?

(a) Because he did something wrong, and even though nobody found out about it (or can find out about it) he feels bad about it and has a bad dream because it gets kind of heavy in his mind worrying.

or (b) Or maybe he had this dream because he's been spending too much time in the woods, and he saw some kind of wild animal tracks around there and got scared about what might happen to him if he got lost.

11a. What are some of the things that can cause a person to have a bad dream like that?

12. A man spends a long time learning to sing some of the ceremonial songs. He is not a singer, but he knows quite a lot of the songs pretty well. Still nobody ever comes around to his place to ask him to help with the singing when they're having a sing around his way. How do you think he feels about this?

(a) He doesn't care about whether they appreciate his singing and ask him to help out or not. Anyway he has those songs for himself.

or (b) He feels pretty bad because no one appreciates how well he sings and nobody comes to ask him to help out with the singing.

(woman's version)

A woman learns how to make that big cake for *kinaldá* and she knows how to do that pretty well. But still nobody ever comes around to ask her to come over and help with that when they're having a *kinaldá* near her place. How do you think she feels about that?

(a) She doesn't care about the fact that they don't talk about what a good cake-maker she is, and that they never come around to ask her help, because anyway she has that knowledge for herself.

or (b) She feels pretty bad because they don't come around to call her to help them make the cake when they have *kinaldá*.

12a. Is there any other way she could feel?

PART 2:

(Open-ended questions)

1.(a) What are some of the worst things a man feels bad about when he does, even if nobody finds out about it?

(b) Are there any things that a man feels bad about even if he doesn't do it, but only thinks about doing it?

(c) If a man does something wrong, and nobody knows about it, and then he begins to feel bad or worry, what can he do about it to get over feeling bad? Is it easy or hard?

2.(a) What are some of the things a person can decide for himself (go by his own mind), and what are some of the things that he must ask others to help him to decide.

(b) Do you ever feel that you need help to decide things, even about things that you own yourself, or know about yourself? Do you feel uncertain and wish for help to decide about what to do?

3(a) Do you think that all Navahos should be like whites in their way of life?

(b) What are some of the Navaho ways that make people happier than white ways, and vice versa?

(c) Did you ever wish you were a white man?

4.(a) Have you ever wished that you were headman and that you could have things your own way around here?

(for woman: Have you ever wished that you were a man so that you could be a leader among these people and do some of the things you wanted to do around here?)

(b) If you were headman or superintendent and had all the money and power you needed, what would you do for the people of this community, and how would you go about it?

5.(a) Do people mostly learn things because they like to have them, or so that others will say good things about them? What are some of the things that people learn mostly for praise, and some that they learn just to have?

(b) Do you feel that people around here don't appreciate enough the work that you are doing, or don't think that you are a good person who is leading a good life? When you do something good, like weaving a good rug, etc., do people usually appreciate it enough? What are some of the things you do that they don't appreciate enough?

6.(a) How do you feel about meeting new people and making new friends? Or do you feel that you have enough friends now?

(b) Do you think that most Navahos feel lonely, and that they don't have many friends, or much close family relations? What are some of the times that you

feel lonely? Do you ever feel that you have plenty or that you don't ever want to see most of these people around here again?

KEY TO QUESTIONNAIRE ANSWERS

Recognition needs: indicated by choice of *a* in Question No. 1
indicated by choice of *b* in Question No. 12
indicated by judgment in open-question No. 5

White Identification: indicated by choice of *b* in Question No. 3
indicated by choice of *a* in Question No. 8
indicated by judgment in open-question No. 3

Dependency needs: indicated by choice of *b* in Question No. 4
indicated by choice of *a* in Question No. 10
indicated by judgment in open-question No. 2

Leadership needs: indicated by choice of *b* in Question No. 2
indicated by choice of *a* in Question No. 5
indicated by judgment in open-question No. 4

Affiliation needs: indicated by choice of *b* in Question No. 6
indicated by choice of *a* in Question No. 9
indicated by judgment in open-question No. 6

Guilt: indicated by choice of *b* in Question No. 7
indicated by choice of *a* in Question No. 11
indicated by judgment in open-question No. 1

Tables 21-30 present the results of three scoring devices for contrasting Galilean and non-Galilean with respect to need-dispositions. Table 31 gives the complete breakdown of scores for the *A* section; table 32 of the *B* section, and table 33 of the *C* section.

CHANGING NAVAHO RELIGIOUS VALUES

TABLE 21: COMPOSITE SCORES OF INDIVIDUALS FOR
RECOGNITION NEEDS

SCORES *	A † QUESTIONNAIRE 2 SITUATIONAL- CHOICE AND 1 OPEN-ENDED RESPONSE		SCORES	B QUESTIONNAIRE 2 SITUATIONAL- CHOICE RESPONSES ONLY		SCORES	C TAT RATINGS	
	Gal.	Non-Gal.		Gal.	Non-Gal.		Gal.	Non-Gal.
2 or 3	1	6	2	1	5	3	1	0
0 or 1	20	12	1	5	6	2	2	4
			0	16	8	1	6	5

* Scores are in terms of numbers of positive responses for the need-disposition.

† The total of this series is only 39; less than the total questionnaire sample size of 41 because two interviews were interrupted before Part II of the questionnaire form could be completed, making it impossible to rate those individuals on the open-ended questions. Table 21-B, which only requires Part I of the questionnaire, has the total of 41 cases.

The scores of individuals in each of the categories were lumped in the manner described above, and three kinds of ratings were made in each grouping. Table 21 shows the three sets of tabulations.

Table 21-A represents a consolidation of questionnaire scores into two categories of individuals; Galileans (including Apostate Galileans) and non-Galileans. The full questionnaire gave each individual four possibilities to indicate his position relative to each need. He could answer none of the questions positively; he could answer either or both of the situational-choice type questions positively; and he could indicate his motive by his response to the appropriate open-ended question of Part II of the questionnaire. Grouping the categories and scores as indicated in table 21-A, Galileans were found to be significantly lower than non-Galileans at the .05 level.² This find-

ing reverses my initial hypothesis.

Because the scoring of questions in Part II of the questionnaire involved a judgment on my part, as to the presence or absence of the need, I retabulated the responses to include only Part I, the situational-choice stories, where no judgment was needed in scoring. These figures (table 21-B) were consolidated into Galilean and non-Galilean categories, and the mean score for each group was found. The difference between the means was tested by "Student's" *t*, and once again Galileans were found to be significantly lower than non-Galileans (at the .05 level) for recognition needs.

In comparing the ratings made for recognition needs on the TAT protocol series, Federighi's table was used again and it was found³ that though Galileans are lower than non-Galileans for this need, the difference between the groups is not significant statistically.

TABLE 22: COMPOSITE SCORES OF INDIVIDUALS FOR
WHITE IDENTIFICATION

SCORES	A QUESTIONNAIRE 2 SITUATIONAL- CHOICE AND 1 OPEN-ENDED RESPONSE		SCORES	B QUESTIONNAIRE 2 SITUATIONAL- CHOICE RESPONSES ONLY		SCORES	C TAT RATINGS	
	Gal.	Non-Gal.		Gal.	Non-Gal.		Gal.	Non-Gal.
2 or 3	16	6	2	8	3			
0 or 1	5	12	1	12	11			
			0	2	5			
							Not applicable	

² The test used was a special application of the χ^2 test presented in E. Federighi, 1950. The published article only presents a section of Federighi's tables, but the complete tables were obtained from the author to make the tests shown here for all A sections of tables 21, 22, 25, 26, 29, 30.

³ Federighi's table can be used for TAT scoring and the A section of the questionnaire tables because the samples are less than 40 cases. These tests will be used thus throughout unless otherwise indicated.

Following the same procedure for white-identification as I did for recognition needs in table 21, it was found that the difference between the two groups where a judgment was involved (table 22-A) was significant at the .05 level. In table 22-B, where only situational-choice responses were used, the groups were also found to be significantly different at the .05 level (using the t-test once again). Galileans, then, are shown to have significantly higher white-identification than non-Galileans. The *TAT* was not thought applicable for rating on this variable because cultural groups are not distinguished in the pictures.

TABLE 23: RESPONSES TO QUESTION No. 3
(White-Identification Item)

	GALILEANS	NON-GALILEANS
(—) a	6	5
(+) b	16	14

Breaking down the questionnaire responses by particular items indicating white-identification, we find that the responses to Question No. 3 do not statistically distinguish Galileans from non-Galileans (table 23).

TABLE 24: RESPONSES TO QUESTION No. 8
(White-Identification Item)

	GALILEANS	NON-GALILEANS
(—) a	11	3
(+) b	11	16

However, applying the χ^2 test of significance of differences to the response groupings for Question No. 8, we find that Galileans are significantly higher (at the .05 level) in white-identification than non-Galileans.

The story in Question No. 3 indicated de-

sires in the direction of learning white ways. Categories of Rimrock Navahos are not significantly different among themselves in this value. All groups desire white education in about the same proportions, though *individuals* in each group are against this wish. Question No. 8, on the other hand, which contains the element of Navaho "self-hate," is able to discriminate between these groups. The Galileans are significantly higher in the "self-hate" aspect of their orientation to the values of the dominant white group.

Testing the groupings of table 25-A by the χ^2 method of Federighi's table, it was found that Galileans are significantly lower (at the .05 level) than non-Galileans for affiliation needs. In the table 25-B tabulations, using the t-test again, the difference was found to be even more striking; Galileans were distinguished from non-Galileans at the .01 level. The test for difference using *TAT* ratings showed that, while Galileans clearly tend to be lower than non-Galileans, there is no statistically significant difference between the groups.

Here again, as in the case of recognition needs, my original hypothesis was reversed.

The statistical comparisons were made between the Galilean groupings and the non-Galilean groupings by the same methods as have been described for the similar tables above. In each case it was found that, while Galileans clearly tended to be higher than non-Galileans in dependency needs, none of the lumped criteria used distinguished the groups at a statistically significant level.

For this reason the questionnaire items that were meant to detect dependency needs were analyzed separately.

TABLE 25: COMPOSITE SCORES OF INDIVIDUALS FOR
AFFILIATION NEEDS

SCORES	A QUESTIONNAIRE 2 SITUATIONAL- CHOICE AND 1 OPEN-ENDED RESPONSE		SCORES	B QUESTIONNAIRE 2 SITUATIONAL- CHOICE RESPONSES ONLY		SCORES	C TAT RATINGS	
	Gal.	Non-Gal.		Gal.	Non-Gal.		Gal.	Non-Gal.
2 or 3	1	7	2	0	2	3	1	3
0 or 1	20	11	1	3	8	2	3	3
			0	19	9	1	5	3

TABLE 26: COMPOSITE SCORES OF INDIVIDUALS FOR
DEPENDENCY NEEDS

SCORES	A QUESTIONNAIRE 2 SITUATIONAL- CHOICE AND 1 OPEN-ENDED RESPONSE		SCORES	B QUESTIONNAIRE 2 SITUATIONAL- CHOICE RESPONSES ONLY		SCORES	C TAT RATINGS	
	Gal.	Non-Gal.		Gal.	Non-Gal.		Gal.	Non-Gal.
2 or 3	15	8	2	10	7	3	4	1
0 or 1	6	10	1	10	8	2	3	5
			0	2	4	1	2	3

TABLE 27: RESPONSES TO QUESTION No. 4
(Dependency Item)

	GALILEANS	NON-GALILEANS
(—) a	12	7
(+) b	10	12

The difference between the groups for this item is shown to be not significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 28: RESPONSES TO QUESTION No. 10
(Dependency Item)

	GALILEANS	NON-GALILEANS
(+) a	19	9
(—) b	3	10

This item (Question No. 10) distinguishes Galileans from non-Galileans with a significant difference at the .01 level. Thus, using the χ^2 test of significance, Galileans were found to

Analyzing the above tabulations (table 29) in the same way as for the other motives, it was found that Galileans are significantly higher (at the .01 level) than the non-Galileans when one uses the open-ended response as well as the situational-choice questions (table 29-A). Dropping the open-ended judgment (table 29-B) the differences are still significant, but only at the .05 level. The TAT scores, tested once again by Federighi's table for the broader category of *anxiety*, show that Galileans are significantly higher than non-Galileans.

Leadership scores were consolidated in a somewhat different way. It was reasoned that each of the categories would have both individuals with strong leadership needs and individuals who were followers; hence these groups would counterbalance one another and preclude any possibility for significant differences in this variable. The consolidation used

TABLE 29: COMPOSITE SCORES OF INDIVIDUALS FOR
GUILT-ANXIETY *

SCORES	A QUESTIONNAIRE 2 SITUATIONAL- CHOICE AND 1 OPEN-ENDED RESPONSE		SCORES	B QUESTIONNAIRE 2 SITUATIONAL- CHOICE RESPONSES ONLY		SCORES	C TAT RATINGS	
	Gal.	Non-Gal.		Gal.	Non-Gal.		Gal.	Non-Gal.
2 or 3	15	4	2	7	2	3	5	1
0 or 1	6	14	1	14	10	2	3	2
			0	1	7	1	1	6

* The variable aimed at in the questionnaire stories is closer to guilt; the TAT ratings simply approximate anxiety. The reasoning behind this distinction and its dynamic significance is discussed in Chapter VI.

have higher dependency needs of the type brought out in this story. The story in Question No. 10 involves a diadic relationship between individuals in the nuclear family. Question No. 4, on the other hand, introduces inter-(nuclear) family relationships after the formation of a new family of procreation.

was based on the hypothesis that the extremes of the continuum—Strong Galileans and Singers-curers—would have strong leadership needs. In addition, the Apostate Galileans and Mormons, each group comprising individuals frustrated in their desires to exercise power were combined with the extremes. This

lumped grouping will be referred to as "Combined Power Group," and it was tested for its difference as a group from the grouping of Residual Navahos and Medium Galileans.

Analyzing the tabulations of table 30 according to the same tests used for the other motives, it was found that only in the use of the two situational-choice questions alone

(table 30-B) was the difference between the groups significant at the .05 level. Though Combination One tended to be higher than the residual groupings in leadership needs, the only instrument that showed a statistically significant difference between the groups was the ending-choice section of the questionnaire.

TABLE 30: COMPOSITE SCORES OF INDIVIDUALS FOR LEADERSHIP (POWER) NEEDS

SCORES	A QUESTIONNAIRE 2 SITUATIONAL- CHOICE AND 1 OPEN-ENDED RESPONSE		SCORES	B QUESTIONNAIRE 2 SITUATIONAL- CHOICE RESPONSES ONLY		SCORES	C TAT RATINGS	
	Comb.	Resi-		Comb.	Resi-		Comb.	Resi-
	One	duals		One	duals		One	duals
2 or 3	9	3	2	5	2	3	3	1
0 or 1	14	13	1	13	5	2	2	1
			0	6	10	1	6	5

TABLE 31*: QUESTIONNAIRE SCORES OF INDIVIDUALS†
BASED ON TWO ITEMS OF CHOICE OF STORY ENDING AND ONE ITEM OF
JUDGMENT OF OPEN-ENDED RESPONSE

	SCORE	STAUNCH GALILEANS	MEDIUM GALILEANS	APOSTATE GALILEANS	MORMONS	RESIDUAL NAVAHOS	SINGERS- CURERS
Recognition	3	0	0	1	1	1	2
	2	0	0	0	0	2	0
	1	5	6	1	0	4	3
	0	6	0	2	2	3	0
White- Identification	3	4	2	0	0	1	0
	2	6	3	1	1	2	2
	1	1	1	3	2	5	2
	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Dependency	3	6	1	1	0	1	0
	2	3	3	1	2	4	1
	1	1	2	1	1	3	3
	0	1	0	1	0	2	1
Leadership	3	2	1	1	0	0	1
	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
	1	4	1	1	1	3	3
	0	3	3	1	1	6	0
Affiliation	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
	2	0	1	0	1	4	1
	1	9	2	2	1	3	2
	0	2	3	2	1	3	1
Guilt	3	5	0	1	0	0	0
	2	6	2	1	1	2	1
	1	0	4	2	1	5	4
	0	0	0	0	1	3	0

* For total population figures, see table 1 above.

† Only 39 of the 41 cases in the sample are represented in the table because two of the interviews were interrupted before the second section (Part 2) was completed.

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TABLE 32: QUESTIONNAIRE SCORES OF INDIVIDUALS
BASED ON TWO ITEMS OF CHOICE OF STORY ENDING FOR EACH NEED
(Only Part I of Questionnaire)

	SCORE	STAUNCH GALILEANS	MEDIUM GALILEANS	APOSTATE GALILEANS	MORMONS	RESIDUAL NAVAHOS	SINGERS- CURERS
Recognition	2	0	0	1	1	2	2
	1	1	3	1	0	4	2
	0	10	3	3	2	5	1
White- Identification	2	4	3	1	0	3	0
	1	6	3	3	3	4	4
	0	1	0	1	0	4	1
Dependency	2	6	2	2	2	4	1
	1	4	4	2	1	4	3
	0	1	0	1	0	3	1
Leadership	2	1	1	2	1	1	1
	1	7	2	1	1	3	4
	0	3	3	2	1	7	0
Affiliation	2	0	0	0	0	1	1
	1	1	1	1	2	5	1
	0	10	5	4	1	5	3
Guilt	2	5	0	0	1	1	0
	1	6	5	2	1	5	4
	0	0	1	3	1	5	1

TABLE 33: THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST RATINGS
BASED ON A THREE POINT SCALE OF INTENSITY BY INDIVIDUALS

	SCORE	STAUNCH GALILEANS	MEDIUM GALILEANS	APOSTATE GALILEANS	MORMONS	RESIDUAL NAVAHOS	SINGERS- CURERS
Recognition	3	0	0	1	0	0	0
	2	0	1	1	1	1	2
	1	3	2	1	2	3	0
White- Identification		NOT APPLICABLE					
Dependency	3	2	1	1	1	0	0
	2	1	1	1	1	3	1
	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Leadership	3	1	1	1	1	0	0
	2	0	0	0	0	1	2
	1	2	2	2	2	3	0
Affiliation	3	1	0	0	0	3	0
	2	0	1	2	2	1	0
	1	2	2	1	1	0	2
Anxiety (including guilt)	3	2	1	2	0	1	0
	2	1	1	1	0	1	1
	1	0	1	0	3	2	1

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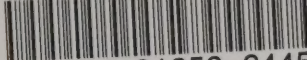
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